THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

GROWING UP CANADIAN: TWELVE CASE STUDIES OF GERMAN IMMIGRANT FAMILIES IN ALBERTA

by

©

GISELA FORCHNER

A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY

EDMONTON, ALBERTA
SPRING 1983

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

RELEASE FORM

NAME OF AUTHOR GISELA FORCHNER

TITLE OF THESIS GROWING UP CANADIAN: TWELVE CASE STUDIES OF GERMAN IMMIGRANT FAMILIES IN ALBERTA

DEGREE FOR WHICH THESIS WAS PRESENTED DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

YEAR THIS DEGREE GRANTED SPRING 1983

Permission is hereby granted to THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA LIBRARY to reproduce single copies of this thesis and to lend or sell such copies for private, scholarly or scientific research purposes only.

The author reserves other publication rights, and neither the thesis nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's written permission.

(SIGNED) Gisela Forchner

PERMANENT ADDRESS:

von Herdo Weg 15
2000 Hamburg 61
Fed. Rep. of Germany

DATED March 22 1983

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled GROWING UP CANADIAN: TWELVE CASE STUDIES OF GERMAN IMMIGRANT FAMILIES IN ALBERTA submitted by GISELA FORCHNER in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY.

W. H. O. Schmidt

Supervisor

Raj Pa

A. Vanden Well

Doris L. Badir

Valerie Polakow Suransky

External Examiner

Date March 12, 1983

Abstract

The research presented here explored the question of "what it means to grow up as an immigrant child", with a focus on an understanding of the context within which the immigrant child develops, i. e. the social environment of family , school and peers. The methodology chosen to obtain a better understanding of this context was a case study approach based on in-depth interviews with twelve post-war German immigrant families. In each family the parents and one child, between 20 and 30 years of age, were interviewed.

Due to its exploratory character, the investigation evolved into a study of cultural change of immigrant families, which incorporates the development of their children as a major aspect. In order to do justice to the importance of the research process and not only to the significance of the findings, this thesis is written on three levels of understanding, a phenomenological-descriptive, conceptual-interpretive, and a critical-reflective one.

The condensation of the interviews into descriptive statements which reflect the world-view and language of the families as closely as possible constitutes the phenomenological-descriptive level. The second level interprets each single case as well as the differences and similarities of all twelve cases within the conceptual framework of the recursive epistemology explicated in a systems view that has been developed in the literature on family therapy. The critical-reflective niveau consists of a reflection of the research process itself, by illuminating the interplay of the researcher and her data, thus acknowledging the dynamics of the hermeneutical nature of the investigation.

The findings of the study show that the interviewed children have had one common experience independent of the differences between their families or schools: the feeling of "being different". The specifics of this feeling and its change over time for an individual are discussed with reference to Erik Erikson's model of psychosocial development.

When looking at the evolution of the families in their new cultural environment, it became apparent that the families mainly differ in their mind-sets regarding an outlook for change vs an outlook for stability. This mind-set is reflected in the family's adjustment process, the interactions within the family, their dealings with Canadian

society, and the socialisation of the children.

The discussion also points to the importance which ritualized every-day behaviour has for the maintenance of a family system and the development of a child into a member of a specific cultural and social group. The recognition of the salience of ritualized behaviour was brought about by the finding that all families, even those who are otherwise very acculturated, still eat in a traditional German fashion.

The practical relevance of this study for educators and counsellors lies in the assertion that in dealing with an immigrant child it is necessary to regard her within the family context, and that all interventions or treatments have to include the parents' mind-set as a major factor. Thus, diagnosis and treatment allocation in educational settings have to be based on a consideration of the social developmental effects as well, and not on a purely cognitive assessment. This also means that teacher education needs to emphasize an understanding of different every-day customs in various cultures.

Acknowledgements

As with any project that takes a long time to complete, this dissertation is in part the result of the assistance and support of many people. I am grateful to all of them. A number, however, deserve special mention. Donald Macnab was the first one to read and correct each of the various drafts of my thesis and David Marples' editorial prowness gave a final polish to my English.

I would also like to extend a special thank you to two people without whose support this thesis would not be what it has become: W.H.O. Schmidt and Allen VanderWell. Both were members of my supervisory committee and thus had an obligation to guide me in my research, but I feel they went beyond that which can normally be expected. Dr. Schmidt, the chairman of my committee, largely influenced my decision to embark on this research undertaking by exploring with me the territory of non-statistical analysis in psychology. During our numerous discussions about philosophy and methodologies of science he mostly impressed me with his open-mindedness and his willingness to seriously entertain any idea, however outlandish it might seem. I thank him for sharing some of his wisdom with me and for giving me his full support throughout the various stages of this thesis. Allen VanderWell became a source of inspiration for me after I had completed my fieldwork and faced the task of painting a coherent picture of my findings. By providing me with an abundance of ideas and provoking me to use my imagination, he kept me thinking in ever-new directions and allowed me to come up with an interpretation that I can identify with. I thank him for his constructive criticism.

This thesis is dedicated to my family, my parents, grandparents and siblings; as a way of saying thank you for their tolerance and support to let me go ahead and become the first academic in the family. Looking back and wondering why I chose this path, I often remember the words of my grandfather. As a worker and socialist who had lived through two world wars and narrowly escaped Hitler's concentration camps, he instilled in me the conviction that the main thing worth striving for in this world is knowledge, "because they can take everything away from you, but not what you've got in your head."

Table of Contents

Chapter Page

I. Introduction 1

II. Background of the Study 4

A. Acculturation Studies 5

Definitions of Ethnicity 5

Acculturation of Italian Immigrants 7

Adjustment of Indonesian Immigrants 9

Socialisation of Italian Immigrant Boys 10

Acculturation of Japanese-Americans 11

B. Research on German Immigrants in Canada 12

Socialisation of Boys 14

Reasons for Immigration 14

Integration of German Immigrants in Quebec 15

C. Conceptual Framework 16

Initial Statement of Position 16

Model for Family Evolution 18

Definition of "Family Myth" and "Delegation Process" 21

III. The Research Method 23

A. The Selection of the Families 23

B. The Interviews 24

C. The Analysis and Interpretation of the Case Reports 27

IV. The Case Studies 29

A. Background Information 29

Historical Overview: Germany 31

Historical Overview: Alberta 39

B. Demonstration of the Method: The Interviews with Petra and her Parents 44

The Interview Situation 45

General Information 45

Major Topics 46
Topical Tables 49
Description of Petra's Life-Experiences 78
Family 78
Religion 79
Occupation 79
School Experiences 80
Ethnic and National Identification 81
Language Experience 81
Parents' Adjustment 82
Summary and Analysis 83
C. Birgit 85
Introduction 85
History 85
Parents' Adjustment 86
Self-Description 88
Travelling 89
Family 90
School and Occupation 92
Language 93
Ethnic Identification 94
Summary and Analysis 95
D. Claudia 97
Introduction 97
History 98
Parents' Adjustment 98
Self-Description 100
Family 101
School and Occupation 104
Language 105
Ethnic Identification 105

Summary and Analysis 107

E. Daniel 109

Introduction 109

History 109

Parents' Adjustment 110

Self-Description 111

Music and Religion 112

Family 112

School 115

Language 115

Ethnic Identification 116

Summary and Analysis 117

F. Eric 119

Introduction 119

History 119

Parents' Adjustment 119

Self-Description 120

Religion 121

Family 122

School Experiences 124

Language Experience 125

Ethnic Identification 125

Summary and Analysis 127

G. Irma 128

Introduction 128

History 128

Parents' Adjustment 129

Self-Description 131

Religion 132

Family 133

School and Occupation 134

Language 136
Ethnic Identification 136
Summary and Analysis 137
H. Julius 139
Introduction 139
History 140
Self-Description 141
Family 142
School Experiences 146
Ethnic Identification 147
Language Experiences 148
Pride and Independence 148
Summary and Analysis 149
I. Karl 152
Introduction 152
History 152
Parents' Adjustment 152
Self-Description 154
Religion and Security 155
Family 156
School 157
Language 158
Ethnic Identification 159
Summary and Analysis 160
J. Ray 162
Introduction 162
History 162
Parents' Adjustment 162
Self-Description 164
Family 165
School and Occupation 168

Language 169
Ethnic Identification 170
Summary and Analysis 170

K. Susanne 172
Introduction 172
History 172
Parents' Adjustment 173
Self-Description 175
Susanne's Own Family 176
Family 177
Religion 180
School and University 181
Language 182
Ethnic Identification 183
Summary and Analysis 184

L. Veronika 185
Introduction 185
History 186
Parents' Adjustment 186
Self-Description 188
Family 189
School 191
Language 192
Ethnic Identification 193
Summary and Analysis 194

M. Wolfgang 195
Introduction 195
History 196
Parents' Adjustment 196
Self-Description 198
Family 198

School 201

Language 201

Ethnic Identification 202

Summary and Analysis 202

N. Summary of the Case Reports 204

V. Interpretation and Discussion 208

A. Evolution of Immigrant Families in the New Cultural Environment 208

Three Forms of Cultural Transition as Points on a Continuum 208

Positioning of the Interviewed Families on the Continuum 211

B. Themes Associated with Forms of Cultural Transition 217

The Mind-Set that Makes the Difference: Looking for Change vs Looking for Stability 217

Religious Affiliation and the Different Mind-Sets 220

The Difference in Being Different 222

Achievement Orientation 225

Language Issues 227

The Resistance of Food Habits to Change or The Power of Ritualized Behaviour 230

C. Re-Interpretation of the Studies Reviewed in Chapter II 234

VI. Inferences and Conclusion: What was learned and how it can be useful 236

Epilogue: Reflections on the Research Process 244

Bibliography 250

Appendix 259

Detailed Outline of Conversation Topics 259

I. Introduction

The research on German immigrant families presented here originated in the question "what it really means to grow up as an immigrant child", and commenced as an exploration of the life-experiences of immigrant children. Due to its exploratory character, the investigation evolved into a study of cultural change of immigrant families , which incorporates the development of their children as a major aspect. [1] In order to do justice to the importance of the research process and not only to the significance of the findings, this thesis is written on three levels of understanding, which are labeled phenomenological-descriptive, conceptual-interpretive, and critical-reflective. The following sections explicate the nature and interrelationships of these levels in more detail, thereby also providing a brief history of the problem in regard to its contents and methodology. An outline of the study follows, including suggestions on how to read it.

Curiosity about what it means to be an immigrant child grew out of previous research on bilingualism. My own investigation on the intellectual abilities of bilingual children [2] left me dissatisfied as far as an explanation of their performances on language tests was concerned, and other studies did not reach any conclusive results either. [3] In an attempt to improve the instruments and design of these studies, it became obvious that a child has to be understood in the context of the social environment, that is, primarily school and family. Furthermore, this context is hardly captured by variables such as socioeconomic status. Therefore my interest refocussed on a deeper understanding of this context in its manifold aspects, and I set out to explore the life-experiences of immigrant children. This change of intention in the study also required a different methodology, and a descriptive approach was chosen in following Roche's assertion that

> We cannot settle any epistemological or psychological questions until we correctly describe the phenomenon. ... It is never correct to foreclose on the possible information that description of consciousness could produce. It is more authentic to try to understand the phenomenon than to prematurely 'explain it away'. (Roche 1973, p.34)

In order to describe the phenomenon of "growing up as an immigrant child", twelve case studies of German immigrant families were conducted by interviewing the parents and one adult child.[4] The condensation of these interviews into descriptive statements, which reflect the world-view and language of the families as closely as possible, constitutes the first level of the study, the phenomenological-descriptive one. This level is valuable in that it provides the basis on which anyone can attempt to understand the world of the interviewed families.[5]

---

[1] It should be noted here that the study deals with adult reconstruction of childhood, since the respondents were in their twenties when questioned about their experiences as immigrant children.

[2] My master's thesis was part of a research project on the language performances of German/Danish bilingual children.

[3] cf. Cummins 1978a & 1978b, and Centre for Aplied Linguistics 1977

After the completion of the case descriptions, the task of making sense of them arose; both in regard to the interpretation of each single case, and as far as the differences and similarities among the families were concerned. During the processes of interviewing the families and describing their experiences, it became apparent that the family context is the most important aspect in the understanding of a child's situation. Thus it seemed appropriate to adopt as a conceptual framework a systems perspective that has been developed in the literature on family therapy. At first this was done rather implicitly, and the relevance of the model only became clear as the analysis continued. Now it can be said that the second level of this study, the conceptual-interpretive one, rests on the recursive epistemology of a systems view, since the observations of the phenomenological-descriptive level were treated as interconnected parts of a larger entity in the interpretation.

The third level of this thesis, the critical-reflective niveau, lies somewhat outside the other two, as it consists of a reflection on the research process itself, thus putting the investigation into a different context. Since this study is basically an interpretation of human phenomena, it follows a hermeneutical approach, which encompasses the researcher or interpreter as an integral part (cf. Shotter 1978). It therefore seems necessary to illuminate this interplay of investigator and investigation, especially since it can provide the reader with a new perspective on the data. In order to avoid confusion with regard to the levels of understanding, the critical-reflective discussion is relegated to the epilogue, whereas the other two levels are integrated within the main body of the thesis, where they are clearly distinguished.

---

[4] Throughout the thesis I will be referring to the women and men I interviewed as 'children', in order to distinguish them from their parents, who are also men and women.

[5] It also constitutes the first step in what Stake (1978) regards as a methodological asset of case studies, the possibility of naturalistic generalisation. This is a type of knowledge at which a person arrives through recognizing the similarities of objects and issues in a different context, and by noting the essential similarities of a described case to an issue or problem of interest.

The thesis is structured in the following fashion. Chapter II reviews some selected studies on acculturation which were used to formulate the topics of the interviews. The few studies available on post-war German immigrants in Canada are also reviewed in this chapter. Furthermore it contains an explication of the systems perspective that became the conceptual framework for the interpretation.

Chapter III outlines the procedure of the data-collection and outlines the contents of the interview guidelines.

Chapter IV presents the twelve case studies. It is a rather lengthy chapter, for three reasons. Firstly, the case descriptions are fairly detailed in order to render possible a good general understanding of the families. Secondly, the first case is used to demonstrate the method of data-condensation and thus includes many pages of verbatim transcripts of the interviews. Thirdly, hardly any research has been conducted on German immigrant children in Canada so far, which means that general background information on their situation is not readily available, and that knowledge about it cannot be presupposed. Therefore, two brief historical overviews are included in chapter IV to provide a broader, socio-historical context.

Chapter V interprets the differences and similarities between the twelve cases and discusses the findings within the perspective outlined in chapter II.

In chapter VI the practical and theoretical implications of this study are outlined, and the epilogue discusses the investigation on the critical-reflective level.

The reader who is mainly interested in an understanding on the phenomenological-descriptive level should focus on chapter IV, whereas it is possible to skip parts of this chapter if one is primarily interested in the conceptual-interpretive aspect. Then the historical overviews could be omitted, and of the individual case descriptions only the sections titled "Summary and Analysis" have to be read in order to follow the argument presented in chapter V.

II. Background of the Study

This chapter provides a background of the study in two meanings of the word. Firstly, it explicates the theoretical premises on which the data-collection and -condensation were based, and secondly it presents a conceptual framework whose ramifications were implicitly used in the data-analysis, but whose applicability as a model for cultural change and family evolution only became fully evident after the interpretation and discussion of the case studies were completed. In other words, since the investigation was an exploratory study, "background" here includes both the conglomeration of experiences and knowledge brought to it at the outset, as well as the epistemological foundations and a model derived therefrom within which the cases studies should now be understood. Both aspects are presented together in a chapter preceding the case descriptions, because it seems advantageous to familiarize the reader with the ideas that gained central importance in the understanding of the data before reading the fairly lengthy reports, thus sparing the time consuming process of re-reading after the interpretation has arrived at a new and unexpected model.

The first two sections of this chapter present a selective review of studies related to immigrant acculturation. The review was prepared before the families were interviewed, and the studies were chosen because their contents and/or methodology contributed to the formulation of the conversation topics and research procedure outlined in chapter III. The third section begins with a statement of position which was also formulated at the inception of the study. Since, in its main thrust though not in its specifics, it is not essentially different from the conceptual model arrived at after the completion of the investigation, the model is discussed immediately afterwards, thereby showing the progress that was made in terms of conceptual understanding. The chapter closes with the definition of two constructs from the realm of family therapy which were utilized in the analysis of the cases.

Due to the exploratory character of this study, the discussion of the findings takes recourse to theories and ideas not mentioned here. Those works are introduced and described where appropriate, and at this point it seems favourable only to indicate that Erik Erikson's ideas on psychosocial development proved to be useful in helping to understand the experiences of immigrant children. [6]

A. Acculturation Studies

The present study is concerned with the acculturation process of individuals and their families. [7] Thomae (1979) discusses various studies pertinent to this topic in a research review on "Personality Development in Two Cultures". He relates the findings to two conflicting unidimensional models of acculturation, the linear adjustment theory, and the theory of acculturative stress. Studies in agreement with the linear adjustment theory assume that a migrant population is at first identical to its original culture, and moves, through intermediate degrees, closer and closer to the new culture. They support this assumption with findings which show that the second generation's scores on value and attitude scales lie between those of the first and third generation migrants. Implicitly, these studies treat cultural adjustment as a conflict free process, and it is this notion that is contested by studies which have found that acculturation is often accompanied by a high degree of stress for the individual, which may find expression in delinquent behaviour or mental illness. Thomae concludes that a multidimensional approach is necessary to clarify the effects that acculturation has on personality development. The present study approaches the acculturation process from several different angles, and thus provides a multidimensional perspective.

The following sections discuss several acculturation studies in detail and point out the relevance of each study for the present study. Beforehand, the concept of ethnicity is introduced, since it plays a major role in the more recent research on immigrants.

Definitions of Ethnicity

"Ethnicity" is a fairly broad concept used in various research contexts that deal with different aspects of migrant people. Sometimes ethnicity refers to the ethnic identity of an individual, whereas at other times it is a label for a group of people. The following section offers a widely accepted definition of ethnicity and then discusses some of the problems that arise from it.

---

[6] In chapter V, section B, the relevant parts of Erikson's theory are mentioned. However, at no place in this thesis is his theory treated in detail, and this is for two reasons: Firstly, only some of his ideas are directly relevant in this context. Secondly, a general knowledge of Erikson's developmental stages is presupposed, since they have become a standard component of almost every textbook on individual development in North America. For further reference see Erikson 1950 & 1968, or Newman & Newman 1979.

[7] Although it is assumed that relations between immigrant groups and the larger society affect this process, the topics addressing that aspect of acculturation lie outside the scope of this thesis, and thus research and theories dealing with them will not be reviewed or referred to.

Isajiw (1974) examined 65 studies dealing with aspects of ethnicity in regard to their definition of the concept. As a result of this analysis he puts forward the following definition of ethnicity.

> (Ethnicity refers to) a group or category of persons who have common ancestral origin and the same cultural traits, who have a sense of peoplehood and 'Gemeinschaft' type of relations, who are of immigrant background and have either minority or majority status within a larger society. (In North America) ethnicity refers to an involuntary group who shares the same culture or to descendants of such people who identify themselves and/or are identified by others as belonging to the same involuntary group. Hence, ethnicity is a matter of double boundary, a boundary from within, maintained by the socialisation process, and a boundary from without, established by the process of intergroup relations. (Isajiw, 1974)

Thus, ethnicity refers to people who have one or more of the following aspects in common:

- a cultural heritage which might be expressed in language, child-rearing practices, values and attitudes etc.,
- a political group-status within a society,
- a personal identification with the same group of ethnic origin,
- the label of belonging to the same group of ethnic origin.

The following points illustrate the range and possible difficulties of this definition. In regard to the minority or majority group status it becomes exceedingly difficult to separate ethnic from socio-economic variables, because they have been interdependent throughout history, as Porter (1965) points out:

> Immigration and ethnic affiliation have been important factors in the formation of social classes in Canada. In particular, ethnic differences have been important in building up the bottom layer of the stratification system in both, agricultural and industrial settings. (Porter, 1965)

The personal identification with an ethnic group is maintained through the socialisation process of its members, which includes an emotional orientation. Epstein (1978) stresses that it is this affective dimension which seems to be lacking in so many recent accounts concerning the problem of ethnic behaviour. He suggests that it is in the experience of childhood that the roots of ethnic identity are established. This process acquires an emotional charge that can make it to a potent force in later life.

The ascription by outsiders to a person who might not identify with that ethnic group sets a process in motion which requires that the individual somehow come to terms with the expectations of other people. Hence self-understanding will be affected, and as a result a person might come to identify very strongly with the ethnic group or try to remain apart from the particular ethnic characteristics. It is also conceivable that the ethnic label plays only a very minor role in an individual's identity, but it cannot be completely disregarded. In a conceptual analysis of the term ethnic identity, McKay &Lewins (1978) propose that two types of ethnic identity should be distinguished: ethnic awareness and ethnic consciousness.

> "Ethnic awareness exists when an individual knows she possesses a certain ethnic trait(s) which is no more meaningful than other cultural, physical, social or territorial characteristics."
> "Ethnically conscious, like ethnically aware individuals, know they possess a specific ethnic trait(s), but for them this characteristic assumes considerable importance. Its saliency is evident in the way in which it influences other cultural, social, or territorial attributes and modes of identification. Whereas ethnically aware individuals display an elementary feeling of solidarity, ethnically conscious individuals manifest strong sentiments about their uniqueness." (McKay & Lewins, 1978)

With this distinction McKay & Lewins try to reduce the ambiguity in the use of the term ethnic identity, by pointing out that it is a matter of degree, a variable whose presence does not automatically imply a predisposition to attitudes, norms, values, and behaviour.

Acculturation of Italian Immigrants

The almost classical social-psychological work on Immigrant acculturation is Irving Child's study "Italian or American? The Second Generation in Conflict." (1943a). Child lived for 18 months with members of the Italian community in a New England town to familiarize himself with the situation of his informants. During this time he used the methods of participant observation, life-history interviews and informal interviews to classify three reaction types of psychological adjustment by second generation Italian immigrant men. He then conducted standardized interviews with about 50 respondents to obtain a more detailed analysis of his classification (cf. Child, 1943b).

Child investigated the conflict between the two cultures which the second-generation immigrants experienced and how they coped with it. The contrasts of the two cultures are described by Child in the following way.

> For the puposes of this research the differences of significance are those between what the second-generation individuals have experienced as Italian culture and what they have experienced as American culture. The contrasts drawn are in most cases ones which have been explicitly pointed out by several informants. (Child, 1943a, p.21)

The second generation individuals show different reactions to this conflict between American norms and Italian traditions, and Child distinguishes between the following three major types of adjustment; the rebel-reaction, the in-group reaction, and the apathetic reaction.

The rebel-reaction is characterised by the tendency of the individual to achieve complete acceptance by the American group. This requires ridding himself of habits associated with being Italian.

In contrast, individuals showing the in-group reaction strive primarily for acceptance by the Italian group, feeling estranged or hostile towards the American group.

The apathetic reaction is described by Child as a retreat from the conflict situation, an avoidance of both above mentioned paths of action and of the conflict itself. The mode of escape is purely psychological; the individual seeks to escape by changing his memory and his perception of the world (Child, 1943a, p.180).

Child's principal concern lies with a non-evaluative description of different forms of psychological adjustment to a conflict situation. He merely points out the individual gains and losses of each type of reaction without implying any pathological undercurrents that have been proposed by other authors.[1]

Since Child was only interested in the behaviour of young male adults, he does not give any information on the conflicts these second-generation individuals experienced as children, such as how severe they perceived them to be and how they solved them. His book offers some extraordinary insights into problems faced by immigrant children, but the issues concerning second-generation German immigrants may be of quite a different nature or at least of different importance, since post-war German immigrants tend not to settle in groups but disperse among other Canadians, and in combination with their hardly distinguishable physical features it makes them much less obvious as immigrants or a minority than the members of the Italian community described by Child.

---

[1] cf. Kunz (1968), McLaughlin (1978) and Peal & Lambert (1962) for reviews about the negative effects of bilingualism/biculturalism.

Adjustment of Indonesian Immigrants

Another psychological study about immigrant acculturation based on in-depth interviews was conducted in the Netherlands (Ex, 1966). Ex was concerned with the adjustment process of newly arrived refugees from Indonesia. He interviewed several immigrant families four times during their first three years in the Netherlands.

Ex used a 'spontaneous themes method' to find out those topics that were of outstanding significance for his respondents at a given time. The most useful questions for this purpose were "What has struck you most in the Netherlands?", "What do you feel most deprived of here?", and "What worries you most at present?" (Ex, 1966, p.7). In order to attain the chief aim of his investigation, to describe the process of adjustment of the refugee to new ways of life in terms of how they were experienced and evaluated, Ex employed rating-scales of "there-here" comparisons, analysing the change of evaluations over time. The spontaneous themes were analysed in terms of their proportional change over time.

The results of the study show the most drastic decrease of importance for those topics that are related to the physical environment, like climate, as well as to the regulation of the community and to people and their behaviour. Ex describes this as the process of habituation as contrasted with acculturation which involves feeling at home with people of the new country, no longer experiencing differences between their ways and one's own. This process only began towards the end of Ex's research. As another outcome of his study, Ex gives a list of factors which he supposes hinder or promote adjustment (Ex, 1966, chapt.8). Amongst these are the individual and basic personality of the immigrant. The first one refers to the psychological equipment and the individual history of a person, influencing a general disposition to adapt to a new milieu, whereas the latter refers to the cultural traits that one acquires in the mother-country. Other factors mentioned by Ex concern membership in a group of people with corresponding learnings, having a job, the level at which the immigrant believes the autochthon judges him, and the level at which the immigrant evaluates the autochthon.

The relevance of Ex's investigation for the present study is to be found in the fact that parents are of major importance as socialisation agents. Proceeding on the assumption that the parents' situation and their outlook on the new environment influences their children's perception of conflicts and their ability to overcome them, it is very desirable to investigate how well and how quickly the German immigrants adjusted to the Canadian environment, in order to see how their adjustment process is reflected in the development of their children.

Socialisation of Italian Immigrant Boys

Danziger (1971) investigated some aspects of the socialisation of immigrant children. His main interest rested upon their achieved level of education and its antecedents, the level of educational aspiration of immigrant children and their mothers. Danziger's subjects were boys from the Italian community in metropolitan Toronto. Their responses were compared to those of a native-born Canadian control group from a similar socio-economic background. The Italian immigrant group was divided into low and high acculturation groups on the basis of their parents' knowledge of the English language.

The results indicated higher educational aspirations for Canadian than for immigrant boys when asked how far they would like to go in school, but these differences diminished when they gave their realistic expectations of how far they would go in school; then only the low acculturation boys differed from the other two groups. A similar pattern is obtained for the mothers' fantasy and realistic expectations, the low acculturation group's goals were more modest than those of the two other groups.

Danziger emphasizes this variance within the immigrant group, pointing out that it is impossible to make generalizations about the whole immigrant group. Apart from social factors one also needs to consider more individual-psychological dimensions like the effort to become fluent in English, to predict the socialisation-success of immigrant children.

In a further analysis of the motivational context of educational ambition Danziger looked at differences in family solidarity between the Canadian and immigrant groups. He concludes that for the native born working class child

> educational aspirations are essentially individual ambitions, and by adolescence the one clear influence of parental variables lies in the potentially negative effect of maternal authoritarianism. For the immigrant boy, on the other hand, the family is clearly an important source of motivational influence, and the stronger his family solidarity the more effective this influence is likely to be. His aspirations are not simply individual goals but represent the goals of his primary group and his concern to be worthy of them. The immigrant child's family is much more likely to be a source of motivational strength than of

> weakness. This fact will often counterbalance the inability of foreign born parents to provide the child with all the cognitive skills needed in the new society. (Danziger, 1971, p.79)

Danziger's analysis refers only to Italian immigrants, but it seems quite plausible that some of his points hold true for other groups as well. The effort of the parents to become part of their new society, and their aspirations for their children and the support they provide for them are important variables to investigate in the analysis of their children's development.

Acculturation of Japanese-Americans

A number of acculturation studies address the assimilation of the value-orientation and behavioural characteristics of the receiving culture by the immigrant. Researchers usually polarize those cultural characteristics which show differences in the two concerned cultures and then measure how strongly the immigrant leans towards the one or the other pole. Often these studies include more than one generation of immigrants in order to determine how fast the acculturation takes place and which are the first and last characteristics to be assimilated by the immigrant group. Connor (1977) investigated the ethnic identity of three generations of Japanese-Americans.[9] He used a general life-history interview schedule as well as two Likert-type scales, namely an Ethnic Identity Questionnaire and a Contrasting Values Opinion Survey. The latter scale asked the respondent to state his agreement or disagreement with statements reflecting either Japanese or American behavioural characteristics; e.g. an American item would be: "In this world, if you don't speak out for yourself, no one else will.", whereas a Japanese item states: "The best way to train children is to raise them to be quiet and obedient." Connor grouped the distinctly Japanese characteristics under the major headings of hierarchy, collectivity, duty and obligation, deference,and dependence; the American ones under equality, individualism, rights and privileges, self-assertion, and self-reliance. The results show a very high retention of Japanese characteristics for the first generation, whereas the third generation is closest to American norms, although it still retains some Japanese characteristics, especially those relating to the importance of the extended family.

Connor describes the second generation as truly within two cultures, demonstrating a great need for order, endurance, achievement, and emotionality within the family bond, but also a concern for its rights and a refusal to submit to arbitrary authority. Paradoxically, this combination allowed its members to get ahead in the American society and to raise their socio-economic status to middle class. Connor notes that for reasons like this, Americans of Japanese ancestry are often referred to as a model minority.

---

[9] cf. also Masuda, Matsumo & Meredith (1970), and Pierce, Clark & Kaufman (1978)

Similarly, Germans have often been described as perfect immigrants to North America (see next section). However, a major difference between German and Japanese immigrants lies in their physical appearance, with Japanese being clearly distinguishable, whereas Germans are more or less invisible in North America. This might also be a reason why the Japanese group has received more attention from social scientists. The relevance of Connor's study lies in the description of opposing cultural characteristics which are likely to cause problems if a person is confronted with both of them simultaneously, especially the contrasts of hierarchy vs. equality, individualism vs. collectivity, as well as duty and obligation vs. rights and privileges. Although the difference between German and Canadian cultural norms is not as pronounced as the one between American and Japanese characteristics, a child will still be confronted with the emphasis on self-assertion on the one hand and the demand for obedience on the other. The present study is concerned with the children's perception of this potential conflict and how it influenced the relationship with their parents, teachers, and non-immigrant peers.

B. Research on German Immigrants in Canada

Public knowledge about German Canadians is extremely scarce, mainly because of their 'invisibility' and the apparent determination of German immigrants not to make themselves conspicuous in any way. Some explanation for this is given by the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (1971).

> The German ethnic origin category is at present very well represented in government structures. However, Germans have not been active in political life as a cultural group. At least three factors have contributed to this. The first is a lack of ethnic self-consciousness among many residents of German origin... The similarities between the German and the British cultures led to a rapid loss of German ethnic identity. A second factor is the presence among the German group of religious sectarians who formed, and in some instances still form, strongly isolationist communitities.... Third, the two world wars have greatly affected the outlook of Canadians of German ethnic origin, making them averse to political activity as an organised and visible group.

In regard to post World War II German immigrants, the similarities of the cultures certainly promoted their adjustment to Canadian society. However, from personal discussions with German Canadians it is too hasty to ascribe to them a lack of ethnic self-consciousness, since many of them mentioned that at heart, if not in public, they are German and always will be German.

The second reason given by the B&B Commission, religious isolation, does not apply to post-war immigrants, since the vast majority of Hutterites and Mennonites came to Canada before 1930, many of them from the United States.

The discrimination Germans suffered as a reaction to the cruelties committed during the Third Reich seems to be the most important reason for their surpreme effort to become exemplary Canadians. Some indications about the attitudes of post-war German immigrants are given by Allen (1964) in an article titled "The Untroublesome Canadians". He describes the attitude of German immigrants to politics and to their new country as extremely reserved and as almost painfully unassertive. His description gives an indication that, although the German immigrants were unproblematic for the Canadian public, they certainly had to struggle to make themselves a home in their new country. The problems they faced were similar to those of other non-British immigrants; because of their deficient command of the English language and their ignorance of Canadian laws and regulations they had difficulties finding a job adequate to their qualifications and were often underpaid. No research has been published on the difficulties the German immigrants faced, on the strategies they employed to overcome them, how it affected their children, and the specific goals and aspirations they held for their children.[10]

Population-statistic data reveal that there is a large number of post-war German immigrants in Canada, the study of whom should be as interesting as that of other immigrant groups.[11] And apparently it is neither a lack of attractiveness nor a lack of interest on the researchers' part, but severe sampling difficulties that account for the meagre output of literature. For example, Danziger (1971) tried to include a German comparison group in his study on the socialisation of immigrant children, but was unable to obtain an adequate sample.

---

[10] Apart from the libraries in Edmonton, searches were made of the Psychological and Sociological Abstracts, bibliographies on ethnic studies (Cardinal, 1970; Cardinal & Malycky, 1969; Krotki, 1980). In personal correspondence with Dr. Froeschle, editor of the German-Canadian Yearbook, he stated that to his knowledge nothing fundamental (nichts Grundsaetzliches) has been published in the areas of psychology, sociology, or education.

[11] From 1950 to 1959 a total of 230,670 Germans arrived as immigrants in Canada, they made up 14.9 % of all immigrants to Canada at that time. (Source: Govt. of Canada, Dept. of Manpower and Immigration)

> It proved much more difficult to find a group of German immigrant children than a group of Italians. This was due to the striking difference in settlement patterns.... The bulk of the more recent German immigration occurred at a time when the legacy of the war and the Nazi years was still very potent. It was an image that German immigrants wanted to forget, and residence in a German ghetto would not have allowed them to forget it. (Danziger, 1971, p.32)

Socialisation of Boys

Despite the sampling difficulties Danziger interviewed 41 mothers and their sons, who attended German Saturday schools in Toronto. The data on this group are not included in Danziger's tables, he just mentions them off and on. It is interesting to note that 91 % of the German boys would have liked to go to university, and 82 % expected that they would actually do so. This compares to 78 % and 51 %, respectively, of the non-immigrant group. 64 % of the German boys aspired to a professional occupation, while only 36 % of the Canadian boys did so. The German mothers agreed completely with the fantasy and realistic educational aspirations of their sons. These figures indicate that German immigrants placed an unusually high value on the education of their children, even though they themselves were not that well educated.

Reasons for Immigration

A study on the reasons for immigration of German immigrants was conducted by Poetschke (1978) in Edmonton. He interviewed 80 men who had arrived between 1946 and 1969. He obtained their names mainly through suggestions by leaders of German ethnic organisations. When asked what had first made them think of emigrating to Canada, 51 % gave relatives or friends in Canada as a reason, 14 % looked for employment opportunities, 12 % felt deprived in Germany, and another 12 % were attracted by the life style in Canada. The answers to the question why they eventually immigrated into Canada looked somewhat different. 37 % thought it would be better elsewhere than in Germany, 47 % combined this reason with the fear of instability in Germany and/or a loss of their possesions there. 9 % looked for better employment opportunities. It seems that most immigrants from Germany came here with the attitude that they had not much to lose but everything to gain.

Poetschke related the reasons for immigration to various dimensions of ethnic identity. He found two dominant themes of the reasons: a "fear of instability" in Germany, and a "better elsewhere" approach defined as a set of instrumental reasons. The only significant relationship of the reasons with the dimensions of ethnic identity was with the factor of linguistic identity. People who give instrumental reasons (e. g. better job opportunities) tend to put a higher emphasis on preserving the German language than persons who emigrated to Canada because they were afraid of instability in Germany. It is important to note here, that Poetschke's questionnaire investigated values and attitudes, and not actual behaviour patterns.

Integration of German Immigrants in Quebec

Hardt-Dhatt (1976) was interested in the acculturation of post-war German immigrants in Canada. In a socio-linguistic study she interviewed 58 persons, measuring their degree of integration on five scales: linguistic capacity, status of citizenship, contact with their home culture, contact with the host culture, and standard of living. She related these to the immigrants' attitudes about immigration, such as the reason for leaving and choosing Quebec as a residence, their image of Quebec before and after arrival; their desire to settle in Quebec, their attraction towards the host culture, and their attachment to their home culture.

Hardt-Dhatt divided her respondents into an integrated, indifferent, and non-integrated group. The answers to the attitudinal questions indicated that most of the integrated persons left Germany and chose Quebec as a residence for career-related reasons, did not intend to return to Germany, had a positive attitude towards Francophones and Quebec, but did not want to establish themselves in Quebec. With the exception of the last one, the results for the non-integrated group are in the opposite direction. However, because of small numbers, Hardt-Dhatt notes that the hypothesis of attitudes determining the degree of integration cannot be totally confirmed.

In her conclusion Hardt-Dhatt adds some observations about the German immigrant. When leaving the home country, specific attitudes are retained, which may provoke some communication difficulties with the autochthon. Hence, one can explain why, despite adaptation at the occupational level, a certain reservation in integration is conserved, a reservation that stems from cultural and intellectual values. Members of the first generation are inclined to follow the daily routine they had in Germany as well as to observe their traditions. Hardt-Dhatt describes the German immigrant as preserving the intimacy of physical space, doing the utmost to protect the private sphere. And in regard to the German's sense of order and hierarchy she says:

> L'Allemand, de par son temperament ne supporte pas les infractions a l'ordre habituel des choses, que ce soit dans sa vie privee ou social. Aussi est-il particulierement etonne de l'indiscipline du Canadien francais dans la conduite de sa vie quotidienne. (p.22)

Here again indications are found that the German immigrant has only outwardly assimilated the culture of the new country, but maintains the right to follow the ways in privacy.

C. Conceptual Framework

Initial Statement of Position

The following two paragraphs summarize the theoretical views on personality development and the definition of culture as they were formulated before the interviews were conducted and analyzed. The next section then introduces the model that was accepted after the analysis of the interviews.

As human beings we are born into a complex, ever-changing world, whose structure is the result of historical development. The state of our phylogenetic development is genetically determined, whereas we appropriate the shared socio-cultural experiences through communication, i.e. collective activity. However, this process is not unilateral or deterministic, but of a dialectical nature. The almost unlimited possibilities of gene combinations ensure that each individual is endowed with a unique set of physiological potentials. During the continuing appropriation of shared experiences of our social environment throughout life, these potentials are activated differentially and we act upon our environment, thereby changing this very environment. Our actions are based on our image and interpretation of the world. These might be different for every person and are subject to continuous change within one individual. The identity of a person describes the entirety of how a person regards herself. This entirety includes a person's motives, values, attitudes, and expectations as well as her emotional and physical constitution, all interwoven. The development of identity is a continuous process, changes occur in the interaction of a person with her environment. To comprehend a person's self-understanding one needs to know not only the individual's life-history, but also the history of her social surrounding, i.e. family and societal history and cultural context.

Culture can be understood as the organized, historical accumulation of experiences which form the basis of interaction in a given society. According to Huxley (1958) this includes modes of overt behaviour, such as rituals and other observable forms of cooperation, as well as potential behaviours existing in the form of assumptions, ideas, values, beliefs, intentions etc. [12] This system of implicit and explicit guidelines of conduct is the result of interaction between human beings, it is a social product, undergoing continuous change. The transmisson of culture takes place during the socialisation process, molding an individual into a member of the particular cultural group. One of the major avenues used in the communication of culture is language; a symbol system representing material and non-material objects and the relationships between them. Language provides the symbols that store intellectual history. By speaking and by thinking in a particular language, a person relies on a whole network of shared meanings and associations specific to the experiences of that cultural group. Without going further into the discussion of language, culture and cognition, [13] it should be underlined that all three are part of the same thing, they are manifestations of the multifaceted relations between humans. They require and they are based on action, interaction, and communication among people (cf. Greenfield 1976). These processes are present in an individual's life from the very beginning, [14] and they continue to influence her development. Therefore members of different cultures are not only distinguished by different traditions of doing things, but also by a different understanding of them, usually expressed in a different language. However, although common culture and language refer to shared socio-historical experiences, a considerable variation of the latter can be found between sub-groups of the same culture. Specifically, differences can be noted between socio-economic strata, indicating e.g. that a group which has a history of selling its labour will associate a different meaning with the experience "work" than a group of great landowners, although both use the same word.

---

[12] Huxley actually recognizes three aspects of culture: sociofacts, mentifacts, and artifacts. The first two refer to the overt and potential behaviours described above, while artifacts are seen as the material manifestations of the cooperation between human beings, they include everything "man made".

[13] see Schaff's (1973) discussion of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis.

[14] The fact that this process starts indeed at the moment of birth has recently been demonstrated by the investigations of mother-infant interactions, see e.g. Newson and Newson (1975), Schaffer (1977), Bruner (1974), and Bates et al (1977).

Model for Family Evolution

In the preceding paragraphs the emphasis has been upon change and reciprocity in the development of individuals and groups. A model that encompasses both these processes within a conceptual frame is a systems view of social and natural phenomena. Since this study focuses primarily on the development of children within the context of their family and the cultural transition of the family as a whole, the ensuing discussion looks at the family as a system to illustrate processes of change. However, it should be noted that the family is but one kind of system, and should be regarded as part of larger systems, e. g. the community, society in general, or its natural environment. Similarly, the family can be said to consist of subsystems, its individual members. All these systems undergo change, and the principles outlined below apply generally. The following explication of system processes relies heavily on Lynn Hoffman's (1981) formulations and on some clarifications by Dell (1982).

A system is a whole consisting of interconnected parts which funtion in such a way that any action or change in one part affects all other parts so that they change or act as well, although not necessarily to the same extent or in the same direction. These changes within a system are organized through patterns or redundancies in the relationships among the parts, which also allow the outsider to identify a particular system as such. If the patterns change, the system as a whole is said to change. The processes causing the reciprocal changes of the parts within a system are called feedback, since they represent a flow of information about the condition of each part to the others and vice versa. A system with constant relationship-patterns but permanently changing parts is seen as fluctuating around a steady state, or homeostasis.

A family is an open system, which means that it is susceptible to change-inducing information from the outside, as well as generating changes from within its membership. Like all living systems, a family is an evolutionary system which – in its fluctuations – can never return to a former state, because the dimension of time enters the process and makes it irreversible. We can say that a family evolves over time, oscillating between relatively steady states and more unsteady states, between times of stability and times of change; but never arrives at exactly the same state twice, as past experiences are part of every new situation.

Of particular interest for this study are the periods of change, as acculturation implies a process of change. Two types of change have been mentioned: those *within* a system and those *of* a system. Change within a family refers to the actions of family members that accommodate varying outer conditions or developments of a family member without altering the basic patterns of their interactions. For example, a family has to deal with the demands that school or the workplace pose for its members. If a family changes its social context, as through immigration, it seems likely that even more changes are required to meet the conditions of the new environment, as the family's strategies of dealing with problems could be inadequate. Sometimes the changes within a system, or first order changes, are not sufficient to absorb the vibrations and stress imposed on or created by it, and then a change of the system, or second order change, results. This implies a re-organisation of the relationships in different patterns from before, and strictly speaking one should not refer to "the same system" anymore, as it has undergone a systemic or paradigmatic change and is now something different. However, especially in regard to families, which are often more readily identified by blood than by interactional relationships, it is said that the (same) system has reached a new evolutionary stage. In her "natural history of a leap" Hoffman gives a description of the typical development of second order change. [15]

> First, the patterns that have kept the system in a steady state relative to its environment begin to work badly. New conditions arise for which these patterns were not designed. Ad hoc solutions are tried and sometimes work, but usually have to be abandoned. Irritation grows over small but persisting difficulties. The accumulation of dissonance eventually forces the entire system over an edge, into a state of crisis, as the stabilizing tendency brings on ever-intensifying corrective sweeps that get out of control. The endpoint of what cybernetic engineers call a runaway is that the system breaks down, or creates a new way to monitor the same homeostasis, or spontaneously leaps to an integration that will deal better with the changed field. (Hoffman 1981, p.159)

Three points in this description deserve special attention. Firstly, a systemic change is usually preceded by a stage of crisis, an escalation of a difficult situation. Secondly, not every crisis leads to systemic change, the other options are a disintegration or end of system (e. g. divorce), or the development of new strategies consistent with the old patterns. Thirdly, the nature of second order change is unpredictable, it is a spontaneous new integration which randomly uses one of the movements that created the previous fluctuations around the steady state, to form the basis for the new patterns.

---

[15] In speaking of a (paradigmatic or systemic) leap, Hoffman employs the same term as is used by dialecticians, and, in my understanding, the view of quantitative changes leading to qualitative leaps arrives at essentially the same conclusions as the process of first and second order changes presented here.

The employment of a systems perspective to analyze processes of acculturation and family change not only offers a different model forthe conception of relationships among people, but also has far reaching epistemological consequences for their analysis and interpretation. With reference to Bateson (1972, 1979), Hoffman points out that a systems view requires a circular, and not linear, epistemology which yields to the importance of time. It regards the evolution of living forms as a recursive, open process, which can be imagined as a spiral.

> The recursive loops ... are never totally closed, since there is always space for new information. Each cycle comes round to a new position, sometimes so minutely different from the previous one as to be imperceptible, but sometimes representing a major shift. (Hoffman 1981, p.339)

The importance of a recursive paradigm for the analysis of processes that occur among people, e. g. within a family, lies in the assertion that "nobody regulates anybody", that members of a system just fit together as they have co-evolved, and they will continue to do so until the system breaks down. That means that parents do not simply "cause" their children to develop in a certain way, and neither do children "make" their parents act in a particular fashion. Rather, behaviour manifestations result from a recursive causal process among parents, children, and outside conditions, which affect the family as part of larger systems. Therefore it is very difficult to make conclusive statements about the reasons why a family interacts in a certain way, if they are only observed at one point in time, since the analysis of a "cause" will always have to investigate who did what before and after, etc. Similarly, the possibility of (unpredictable) second order changes precludes any certain predictions of how the system will function in the future.

However, the investigation of family systems, in this case immigrant families, does give valuable information about the acculturation process and child development, if one focuses on the different patterns and strategies that families used to keep their systems going, through periods of stress and times of stability. Hoffman (p.156) mentions that families often experience stress when a change in membership occurs, e.g. through birth, death, or when grown-up children leave the home. The present study investigates whether immigrant families also experience other stressful periods, e. g. at the time of immigration or when the children enter school and come into closer contact with the societal system. Of particular interest are the patterns, or strategies, that families have employed to cope with the pressures on their systems, and the consequent types of changes. Since only complete families were interviewed, there are no examples of system disintegration.

Definition of "Family Myth" and "Delegation Process"

In family theory and therapy various constructs are used to illustrate the processes which occur on the level of the family system and can help or hinder the family to change. Two of these concepts, the "family myth" and "delegation process", are employed to describe the interviewed families, and the following paragraphs briefly outline what is implied by their usage in this context.

Myth as used in anthropology refers to a sacred narrative that explains how the world and people came to be in their present form, it is a story believed to be true by those who tell it.[16] Hunter and Whitten[17] further point out that an important characteristic of myth is its social rather than individual aspect, and that myth provides a sociological character for belief, meaning that people point to myth as their ultimate rationale for their behaviours or mores. This last, functional, aspect of myth is focused on by family theory. Ferreira (1963) says that "the family myth 'explains' the behaviour of the individuals in the family while it hides its motives, and often it becomes a formula for actions to be taken at certain defined points in the relationship." Ferreira regards family myth as a homeostatic mechanism in family life, defining it as follows.

> Family myth refers to a series of fairly well integrated beliefs shared by all family members, concerning each other and their mutual position in family life, beliefs that go unchallenged by everyone involved. ...
> The family myth is much a part of the way it appears to its members, that is, a part of the inner image of the group, an image to which all family members contribute, and, apparently, strive to preserve. ...
> The myth ... protects the (family) system against the threat of disintegration and chaos. It tends to maintain and sometimes even to increase the level of organisation in the family by establishing patterns that perpetuate themselves with the circularity and self-correction characteristics of any homeostatic mechanism. (Ferreira 1963)

For the discussion of the case studies in the ensuing chapters it is important to note that a family myth is seen as a process which works towards maintaining the stablity of the family system, and in doing so can create problems in the evolution of the family when it is challenged, especially if one family member starts to question the hitherto shared beliefs, thereby shaking the foundation of the family.

---

[16] cf. Hunter & Whitten 1976

[17] ibid. p.279 ff

The other notion to be introduced in this section is the one of delegation. It has been elaborated by Stierlin (1978, 1881), who points out that the Latin verb "delegare" has two meanings, "to send out" and "to entrust with a mission". He describes certain interactions between parents and children as delegation, e. g. when a child carries out her father's mission to realize his unfulfilled career–ambitions. According to Stierlin, delegation occurs in many families and is often accompanied by positive outcomes for both parents and children. However, delegation can also 'derail', e. g. if the child is unable to fulfill the assigned mission, for one reason or another.

The above view of delegation is fairly linear, but since delegation was found to be a powerful explanatory concept, it was used in this study in a modified form which is consistent with a systems perspective. Here delegation is not to be considered as an action where the will of one family member is unconnectedly imposed upon another, but rather, like myth, refers to shared beliefs about various family members' behaviour. If myth says something about the origin and history of a family and derives its behaviour prescriptions from the past, then delegation refers to the goals and ambitions of a family, requiring behaviour appropriate for the envisioned future of the family as a whole.

The recursive patterns of delegation can only be detected if one considers more than two generations to find out what is consistently passed on from one generation to the next. Thus, patterns of delegation show the stability of a family system on a different level; the intergenerational development. Some of these patterns are particular to a family, while others are culture specific.

III. The Research Method

The aim of this study had been to investigate how second generation German immigrants experienced their childhood and adolescence in Canada. Special attention was given to the possibly different values and attitudes they encountered in their home and outside, at school and with peers, and to whether and how the children resolved any resulting conflicts. Information pertaining to the issues was obtained from immigrant "children" between 20 and 30 years of age and from their parents, and the latter were also asked about their adjustment to Canada and its people. In accordance with the epistemological position discussed in chapter II, twelve case studies of post-war German immigrant families were conducted to provide an understanding of what it means to grow up as an immigrant child. The following sections of this chapter describe how the participating families were found; outline the procedure and contents of the interviews, and delineate the analysis of the reports.

A. The Selection of the Families

Since the present investigation is concerned with post-war German immigrant children in Canada, the selection of the families was restricted to those in which both parents were born and raised in Europe, either in Germany proper or in German colonies in other states, and who immigrated to Canada after the second world war but before 1960. They had to have at least one child born between 1950 and 1960 and raised in Canada, i. e. who was either born in Canada or arrived here as a young, pre-school-aged child. Apart from that the only concern was to interview an equal number of female and male persons, as they were expected to have had different experiences in their childhood and youth. In order to find families willing to relate their experiences, bilingual posters asking for co-operation were put up in German ethnic stores and were mailed out to German clubs, churches, and schools; they were also distributed in those public schools that have a German bilingual programme. [11]

---

[11] The English part of the poster read as follows: "I am a graduate student from Germany at the University of Alberta, looking for German immigrant families who are willing to share some of their experiences with me. As part of my thesis I am interested in people who came to Canada in the 1950's and who have at least one child born between 1950 and 1960. I would like to talk to the child about his/her experiences at home and at school. Also, I would like to interview the parents about their adjustment to this country. If you can help me in this matter, please phone me so that we can arrange for a date. Thank you very much."

Four of the participating families were found through public advertising. In three of the cases I had been informally acquainted with the child, who upon request agreed to talk to me and obtained the consent of the parents. Five families were referred through personal contacts; they were approached after they had first declared their consent to the contact person. Thus the majority of the families agreed to be interviewed in response to a request by a personal acquaintance, and this way a few families were studied who most likely would not have responded to impersonal solicitation. In chapter IV the details for each family are given, as well as an overview of the demographic data for the group as a whole.

B. The Interviews

The specific technique of data collection employed in this study was the unstructured, focused in-depth interview. [19] This means that the particular phrasing of the questions and their order varied with the respondents, as an attempt was made to tailor the conversations to the special characterisitics and needs of each participant. This technique leaves the interviewer with a wide latitude to organize each encounter individually, and to ensure as much as possible that the respondents understand the intent of the questions. In regard to the validity of introspective data about past experiences, which might be distorted through memory, it should be kept in mind, that if a person defines situations as real, they are real in their consequences, and that the objectivity of a recalled event is of less value than its subjective impact on a person recalling it. [20]

In an attempt to understand the world-view of those interviewed, the latter were frequently asked to describe in detail certain occurrences or situations which they regarded as important. In order to avoid possible misinterpretations of the significance of these descriptions, they were asked to evaluate the reported experiences.

These explications and clarifications were also necessary because people frequently change the meaning of the same word or attribute, depending on whom or what they ascribe it to. Examples of these shifts are given in a number of studies on social identity conducted by Zavalloni (1971, 1973, 1975) who investigated the recoding of stimuli that occurred when they were associated with an out-group (they) instead of with an in-group (we). She used a technique called 'Focused Introspection', which required the respondents to evaluate and rate in terms of self-applicability free associations they had provided beforehand to stimuli like: "If you think of Frenchmen in terms of us, what comes to mind? We Frenchmen are ...." and "Now, if you think of Frenchmen in terms of they, what comes to mind? They, the French, are....." (Zavalloni, 1971). The following examples illustrate the changes of meaning from a negative to a positive connotation of the same word:

---

[19] cf. Denzin 1970, p. 155
[20] ibid., p. 240

> "Proud applied to Frenchmen signifies: 'they believe they are first in everything and that they are always right.' Applied to the self: 'I am conscious of my superiority.'
> Individualist applied to Frenchmen indicates a 'lack of social concern and egocentrism'. Applied to the self: 'I value my freedom and independence.'"
> (Zavalloni, 1971)

The interviews were conducted in the homes of the participants in the language of their choice (i.e. English or German); and the conversations were recorded on audio-tapes with the consent of the families. Studying people in their home creates an informal atmosphere and personal relationship, which on the one hand decrease biases and the chance of misunderstandings, but on the other hand can also create ethical problems as friendliness, trust, and unanticipated self-disclosure are encouraged, and unexpected findings are rendered possible. [21] In order to minimize the occurrences of such problems, my prologue to the interviews not only included an introduction of myself and my research interests, but also spelled out explicitly that the participants did not have to answer every question if they did not feel like it, and that I did not expect an explanation if they chose not to respond. If a person refused to talk about a certain subject I respected this choice and did not inquire further.

Following is an outline of the major topic areas that were covered in the interviews; a more detailed list is contained in the appendix. The conversation topics were developed partly with reference to Child (1942), Ex (1966), Danziger (1971), Hardt-Dhatt (1976), and Connor (1977).

Child Interview

* Demographic Data
* Present self-description, life-history
* Important events in shaping the self-image, in life

---

[21] cf. LaRossa et al 1981

- Relationship with parents and siblings
- Relationship with peers and teachers during childhood and adolescence
- School career and recreational activities
- Conflicts with other people
- Comparison of German and Canadian culture
- Evaluation of the influences of both cultures on their lives
- Language experiences, opinion on bilingualism
- Ethnic identification; opinion about present day Germany and Canada
- Visits to Germany, contact with relatives there
- Attitudes and values re: family, authority, education, occupation/work, religion

Parent Interview

- Demographic Data
- Experiences before immigration
- Reasons for immigration
- Problems in adjusting to Canada
- Child-rearing practices
- Problems with their children
- Educational Aspirations for their children
- Ethnic Identification; opinion about present day Germany and Canada
- Preservation of ethnic traditions
- Visits to Germany, contacts with relatives there
- Language: opinion on bilingualism, ethnic schools
- Attitudes and values re: family, authority, education, occupation/work, religion

C. The Analysis and Interpretation of the Case Reports

The analysis of the case reports followed a method of data condensation described by Giorgi (1975).[22] An extensive illustration of the procedure is provided in the next chapter as part of the presentation of the case of Petra and her family, while this section gives an overview of the method.

The first step involved a complete verbatim transcription of the audio-taped interviews. Secondly the central issue of each meaning unit of the interview was determined and stated. Then tables were compiled, categorizing the data, i. e. the verbatim parts of the conversation juxtaposed with their summary statements, according to the conversation topics outlined above plus those which surfaced as being significant for the particular family. From these tables case descriptions were obtained by summarizing the essential issues of the various topics. The aim in the categorisation of the data and in the distillation of the essential meaning inherent in the statements made by the participants, was to reflect as closely as possible the world-view of each interviewed person. Therefore the case descriptions often employ the language used by the respondents, to delineate how they perceive and construct their reality.

After each case description a single-case analysis was prepared, based on an evaluation of the description. Such a procedure is often regarded as problematic, since it is highly dependent on the researcher's perspective and is not standardized. Giorgi (1975) points out that this difficulty can be overcome in the following manner:

> The control of the data comes from the researcher's context or perspective of the data. Once the context and intention becomes known, the divergence (*of different investigators*) is usually intelligible to all even if not universally agreeable. Thus, the chief point to be remembered with this type of research is not so much whether another position with respect to the data could be adopted (this point is granted beforehand), but whether a reader, adopting the same viewpoint as articulated by the researcher, can also see what the researcher saw, whether or not he agrees with it. That is the key criterion for qualitative research. (Giorgi 1975)

The underlying perspective of this study, which regards a child as a member of an evolving family system embedded in a changing society, was outlined in chapter II. When looking at each family separately, I tried to answer the following questions for the single-case analyses:

What did it mean for this woman or man to grow up as an immigrant child?

---

[22] cf. also Williams 1976

How did she or he develop emotionally, socially, and intellectually?
What are the patterns of relationships within the family?
How does the family relate to other people, Canadians as well as Germans?
How did the family evolve in the Canadian cultural context?
How did the child and/or the parents solve problems arising out of culture conflicts?
How would they react to similar problems now?

An interpretation considering all families simultaneously is presented in chapter V. There the intention was to find out how the various families differ and what they have in common, to gain an understanding of why and how the families evolved as they did.

It should be mentioned that in the following case descriptions all names of persons are changed, and those of places are kept vague in order to protect the identity of the individuals. For similar reasons the case descriptions do not contain all the information obtained. In some instances I was privy to family secrets which were only shared by family members, and at times not even by all of them. These are omitted in the descriptions, but some are integrated in chapter V without reference to a particular family.

IV. The Case Studies

This study is based on 23 in-depth interviews of twelve German immigrant families, which were conducted in 1981 in Alberta. Six women and six men, born between 1950 and 1960, whose parents had immigrated from Germany to Canada between 1949 and 1957, were interviewed. In eleven cases, a second interview was conducted with both parents, in one case they refused to participate. The interviews took place in the homes of the respondents, and lasted between one and three hours. However, my visit in the home was usually extended beyond the time of the interview, as I often stayed for a meal and conversed about my experiences in Germany and Canada, spending up to six hours with my respondents.

A. Background Information

Before describing the individual cases, some information will be presented about the group as a whole. In terms of origin of the parents, three of the mothers and four of the fathers are Volksdeutsche, the rest are Reichsdeutsche. [23] In only one case are both parents Volksdeutsche. The mothers were born between 1921 and 1932; the fathers between 1902 and 1931. All parents met after the war, most of them in Germany; in three cases they met in Canada. They immigrated between 1949 and 1957, and five of the families had at least one child at the time of arrival in Canada. The number of children in each family now ranges from one to six.

Regarding the education and occupation of the parents, one mother went to university and three others also graduated from the academic high school, receiving their *Abitur* (matura). With one exception, all mothers went through an apprenticeship programme for job training. At the time of the interview three mothers were employed full-time, two part-time, two worked on their own farms, and of the remaining five housewives, two were heavily engaged in volunteer work. Of the fathers, two went to university and two others also obtained their *Abitur*. Except for the two university graduates and one other father, the others completed post-secondary education in a technical or trade-school. In 1981, two of the fathers were retired, two worked in agriculture, five were tradesmen, one was a self-employed businessman, one was employed in a technical position and one as a skilled worker.

---

[23] see next section for an explanation

The six female "child"-respondents were born between 1951 and 1958. One was born in Germany and arrived in Canada at the age of three, the others were born in Canada. Four of them are the oldest children in their families, one is a single child, and one is the third of four children. At the time of the interview two of the women were single, four married, and two of the latter had children of their own. All of them completed high school, and four had received a university degree (all Bachelor of Education). One woman graduated from a post-secondary business programme, while the other only took a few business courses. The two mothers worked part-time in 1981, the others were employed full-time in the jobs they were trained for.

The male "child"-respondents were born between 1950 and 1960, four of them in Canada and two in Germany. The latter arrived in Canada at the ages of one and three. Three of the men are the oldest children in their family, one is the youngest and the other two are in the middle. Every one of them completed high school, and four received a university education. One graduated from a post-secondary technical school, and one did not pursue any post-secondary education. At the time of the interview, two men were attending university, and the others were working full-time in positions related to their education. Four were married, one of these had children of his own and in two cases their wives were pregnant. The remaining two were single.

This summary of the sociodemographic data provides a general picture of the people of this study. The two following sections are also overviews, but with different purposes. They are socio-historical descriptions of Germany in the 1930s and 1940s and of post-war Alberta. The Alberta section presents some background information which helps to put the experiences reported by the families into context. The part on Germany, too, serves this purpose, as well as giving some descriptions of those kinds of experiences which were not elicited during the interviews. Although the interview schedule had contained a number of questions regarding the parents' experiences before and during the war, I realized very early in the investigation that I was opening deep wounds with these questions, touching subject matters which the people preferred not to talk about. I felt that I had no right whatsoever to impose on the families in that manner. Since the emphasis in my request for an interview had been exclusively to inquire about experiences of German immigrants and their children in Canada, I was very reluctant to intrude into these often painful historical memories. Therefore I just asked one global question about the youth of the parents in Germany, probing only in those cases where additional information was volunteered. But since I am also of the opinion that the experiences of the parents during their youth are very relevant to the upbringing of their children, the following section is presented as a generalized description of the experiences of that time.

Historical Overview: Germany

The following overview covers the socio-political conditions in Germany during the 1930's as well as the impact of the second world war and the post-war period on everyday life in Germany, to provide information for an understanding of the general background of the interviewed parents. With the exception of two fathers, the parents were born after 1920, which means that they were at the most 13 years old when the Nazi regime assumed power in Germany in 1933. The information given here is selective, as it is primarily concerned with events most likely to have had an impact on the lives of the German parents interviewed in this study.

German immigrants are customarily divided into *Reichsdeutsche* and *Volksdeutsche*, according to their areas of origin. Reichsdeutsche refers to people from Germany in the boundaries of 1937. In the present-day political configuration this includes the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG), the German Democratic Republic (GDR), and a large part of western Poland as well as the former East-Prussia, which now belongs partly to Poland and partly to the U.S.S.R..

The term Volksdeutsche refers to people of German origin who lived outside these boundaries, usually in eastern European countries such as Poland, Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union, and Romania. Some of their ancestors had been called into the Russian Empire by Catherine the Great in the 18th century in order to cultivate the land. They lived in more or less autonomous German agricultural colonies, enjoying educational and religious freedom under the Czarist regime. Others lived in areas that belonged to the German or Austro-Hungarian Empire until the end of the first world war. (The Polish state did not exist between 1795 and 1918; and in 1918 Czechoslovakia was established as a state for the first time in history.) The Volksdeutschen retained their German way of life in the foreign countries, speaking German at home, establishing German schools and churches, and proudly preserving the German *Kultur* and their Protestant religion. The events during the first world war and its outcome drastically changed the political structure of Europe. The Russian Revolution (1917) and the establishment of the Polish Republic and Czechoslovakia in 1918 had a direct influence on the lives of the Volksdeutschen, ranging from the obligation to send their children to public schools, to expropriation of land and deportation to Siberia. On a social-psychological level the measures heightened the Volksdeutschen's awareness of their descent, and many of them took great care to assert the German heritage within their families. Thus children grew up speaking at least two languages (the official one and German), were very conscious of their family history and the cultural and religious traditions in which it was embedded. These efforts to preserve the German culture abroad were later substantially supported by the Nazi master-race ideology, propagated in the 1930's; and it might be that some of the Volksdeutschen accepted this doctrine much more readily under the existing conditions of discrimination and persecution than they would have under different circumstances.

In Germany itself, where the Reichsdeutschen parents grew up, Hitler assumed power in 1933, after the country had undergone a period of political instability and economic distress; the result of the combination of the worldwide recession and the reparation payments to the victorious countries of the first world war. The latter were constant reminders to the German people of their defeat and the perceived injustice of the Versailles Treaty. After coming to power, the Nazis rapidly transformed the young German republic into a totalitarian police-state, controlling all spheres of everyday life. Within a year all other political parties were abolished and active democrats were persecuted. The trade-union movement was replaced by the *Deutche Arbeitsfront* (DAF), whose aim was not to negotiate conditions of labour-contracts, but rather to educate all working people in the national-socialist way of thinking. Membership was more or less compulsory. The DAF's politically most effective work was achieved in the recreational sector, where the programme "strength through joy" organized every kind of leisure activity, ranging from symphony-concerts to ocean cruises, occupying almost every minute of the worker's day.

The streamlining of the German youth proceeded along similar lines: a movement that formerly was a colourful mosaic of political groups, denominational associations, and unaffiliated federations, was replaced by the HJ (Hitler Youth) and the BDM (League of German Maidens); the only two legitimate youth organisations. In 1936 all ten year olds were drafted into the HJ. From then on, every juvenile over the age of ten had to become a member lest his whole family suffer severe repressions. The task of the Hitler Youth was to prepare the youths for service to "their People and their Fuhrer". Children had to report to their units two or three times a week, and often on Sundays as well. Schools had to adjust their schedules to the activities of the HJ, and absences because of duty in the HJ were automatically excused. The following memories of a former Hitler Youth give an example illustrating the training of 10 to 14 year olds:

> In our squad, the young-people hours consisted almost exclusively of "duty of order", i.e. of dull military drill. Even when sports or shooting or singing was scheduled, firstly there was always "duty of order": incessant drill with "attention", "at ease", "left turn", "right turn", "company about-face"; commands that I still remember in my sleep today. Things took place in the same manner as described in "Nothing New on the Western Front", twelve-year old horde leaders bawled at ten-year olds and chased them across the schoolyard, meadows, and new-ploughed fields. The smallest rebellion, the most insignificant flaw in the uniform, the slightest tardiness were immediately avenged with penalty drill - powerless N.O.C.'s took it out on us. But there was method in the madness: From infancy we were drilled in toughness and blind obedience. Upon the command "lie down" we had to throw ourselves into the cinders with bare knees, when doing push-ups our noses were pressed into the sand; whoever started panting while running was ridiculed as a sissy.
>
> How could we endure this for four years? Why did we swallow our tears, suppress our pain? Why did we never complain to our parents or teachers about the evil that was happening to us? I only have one explanation: we were all caught by ambitions, wanted to impress the N.O.C.s by exemplary discipline, by taking a lot, and by military behaviour. Because whoever was competent was promoted and was allowed to decorate himself with laces and braids; he was allowed to command, and even if it was only for the five minutes during which the "leader" vanished behind the bushes. The motto was: Youth has to be lead by youth. In practice it meant: the one on top may kick downwards. (Focke & Reimer, p.45)

Apart from the physical training the juveniles were also subjected to instruction in Nazi-ideology. The cornerstone of this indoctrination was Hitler's race theory which stated that the Germanic or Aryan race was superior to all others and was therefore destined to rule. Some races, such as the Slavs, were regarded as inferior, but still useful as labourers serving the superior Aryans. But the Jewish were considered subhuman, and by blaming them for all evil in the world (e.g. the greatest danger in the world came from the communist movement, which was regarded as a Jewish plot), Hitler justified their persecution and later genocide. As far as the Aryans were concerned, he envisioned an agricultural, self-sufficient state populated by pure-blooded Germans. Since the population density in Germany did not allow this, the expansion of the German state was regarded as inevitable, so that the superior race would have *Lebensraum* to prosper.

Nazi ideas became also part and parcel of the school-curriculum. They were not only taught directly in subjects such as social studies and German, but also found their way into the sciences, as the following example illustrates:

> Problem 95: The construction of a lunatic asylum requires 6 million marks. How many housing estates @ 15,000 marks could have been built with that?
>
> Problem 97: A lunatic costs approximately 4.00 marks a day, a cripple 5.50 marks, and a criminal 3.50 marks. In many cases a civil servant has only 4.00 marks a day per head of the family, an employee hardly 3.50 marks, and a labourer hardly two marks.
> a) Give a graphic representation of these figures.
> - According to conservative estimates there are 300,000 lunatics, epileptics, etc. in German asylums.
> b) What is their total annual cost at 4.00 marks a day?
> c) How many irredeemable marriage-loans @ 1000 marks could be paid out from this money?
> (Focke & Reimer, p.89)

The schools were completely changed. The administration was quickly occupied with members of the Nazi party, and teachers had to attend training camps to become firm in Nazi ideology. Those who refused to follow the party-line were subjected to military drill and had to fear repressions from both the administration and the students, since the HJ asked its members to report all teachers whose instruction smacked of anti-Nazi contents. Thus students of all ages could exercise a tremendous power over their teachers, acting as political controllers of the classroom. In general, the activities of the Hitler Youth became more important than school, and the latter had to yield to the time requests of the former.

The state aimed at organizing the life of the whole family, trying to ensure that everyone devoted their time and effort to the cause of National Socialism. The husband was occupied with his work and numerous meetings, schoolings, and organized recreational activities in his spare time. The children were taken care of by the Hitler Youth and the wife was assigned to fight her "battle" at home:

> The heroic courage the man engages in on the battlefield is matched by the woman's eternally patient devotion, her eternally patient suffering and pain. Every child she gives birth to is a battle she wins for the be or not to be of her people. (Focke & Reimer, p.121)

The success of this family policy to produce large numbers of Aryan offspring was not overwhelming, [24] and people were also able, in varying degrees, to resist the effects of Nazi propaganda and domination in other areas of life. For example, it was much more difficult to exercise control in rural and farming communities than in the cities (cf. Focke & Reimer, p. 149). And there is no doubt that the constant bombardment with racist propaganda and war-mongering as well as repressive actions such as internment in concentration camps did not succeed either in brainwashing all Germans or in eradicating all democratic and humanistic consciousness. [25]

However, in one area the Nazi strategy seems to have been successful, and that was the rape of the youth. Since both major institutions within the youth's life, school, HJ or BDM served as instruments of Nazi ideology, there was hardly any place where young people could be exposed to different ideas; with the possible exception of the family and close personal friends.

On a subjective level the HJ and BDM had a lot of positive things to offer, a close companionship and camaraderie expressed in various sports and cultural activities; as well as the common belief in higher ideals, however perverse these were. William Shirer describes his impressions of the German youth as follows:

> Though their minds were deliberately poisoned, their regular schooling interrupted, their homes largely replaced so far as their rearing went, the boys and girls, the young men and women, seemed immensely happy, filled with a zest for the life of a Hitler Youth. And there was no doubt that the practice of bringing the children of all classes and all walks of life together, where those who had come from poverty or riches, from a labourer's home or a peasant's or a businessman's, or an aristrocrat's, shared common tasks, was good and healthy in itself. In most cases it did not harm a city boy or girl to spend six months in the compulsory Labour Service, where they lived outdoors and learned the value of manual labour and of getting along with those of different backgrounds. No one who travelled up and down Germany in those days and talked with the young in their camps and watched them work and play and sing could fail to see that, however sinister the teaching, here was an incredibly dynamic youth movement. The young in the Third Reich were growing up to have strong and healthy bodies, faith in the country and in themselves and a sense of fellowship and camaraderie that shattered all class and economic and social barriers. (Shirer, p.353)

---

[24] cf. Focke & Reimer, p.122, who point out that the percentage of childless, 5-year old marriages was larger in 1938 than in 1934. This was despite the closure of all birth-control clinics in 1933 and extremely high penalties for abortions, which were regarded as "acts of sabotage against the racial future of Germany".

[25] For example, about ten percent of all employees managed to avoid membership in the DAF, and politically or church affiliated groups worked in the underground.

This faith was finally demolished when the German army surrendered in 1945. The country was in ruins, its people were drained of almost all physical and psychological strength, the *Fuhrer* and his companions had very unheroically committed suicide, leaving Germany to the occupying powers, who declared that just about everything the Hitler youth had believed in was wrong and evil. This exceedingly painful process of disillusionment had begun slowly a few years earlier when the German army suffered its first defeats, and when its demands created severe supply shortages in Germany, especially in the urban areas. Still, many of the boys continued to fight, die, and kill for "people and Fuhrer", and joined the army towards the end of the war as 14 or 15 year olds, finding out what this insane war was all about.

The Volksdeutschen underwent a slightly different experience. After the division of Czechoslovakia (1938), the Blitzkrieg in Poland (1939), and the invasion of the Soviet Union (1941) by German troops, most of the Volksdeutschen became part of the German Reich again. Some of them resettled in the western part of Poland (the "Warthegau") which was designated to become fully German by simultaneously expelling the Polish population. If the Volksdeutschen were relatively unaffected by the internal reorganisation during the first period of Nazi dominance in Germany, their fate became intertwined with that of the rest of the German population during the war years. The men fought in the German forces, and all were regarded as members of the German state by outside nations, whether they agreed to it or not. Towards the end and after the war the Volksdeutschen shared an additional suffering with those Reichsdeutschen in the so-called "Eastern Areas" (i.e. east of the Oder-Neisse line, the present border between Poland and Germany): expulsion from their homeland. [26]

At the end of the war, 16.5 million Germans were living in eastern Europe; about 9.5 million Reichsdeutsche in the Eastern Areas; and of the remaining Volksdeutschen about 3.5 million lived in Czechoslovakia and about 2 million in Poland, Gdansk, and the Baltic States. 13.4 million Germans were forced to flee or were expelled from their homeland between 1945 and 1949, of which 2.1 million them perished during this period of resettlement.

---

[26] The following description is based on the research of Alfred M. de Zayas, published in: Nemesis at Potsdam. The Anglo-Americans and the Expulsion of the Germans. Background, Execution, Consequences., Routledge & Kegan Paul, London 1977.

The migration began in the winter of 1944/45 when the Red Army first invaded German territory. Military action was accompanied by repression of the civilian population, in revenge for the atrocities committed by the German army in the Soviet Union. The story of the massacre of Nemmersdorf (cf. de Zayas, p. 61), where over seventy women and children had been slaughtered with every woman and girl over the age of eight being raped beforehand, caused many Germans to abandon their homes and to join the trek of wagons westward. Some proceeded in a semi-organized fashion as part of the German military evacuation, but most were caught between the retreating German army and the attacking Soviet forces. They fled in a bitterly cold winter on icy roads, without sufficient food or shelter, threatened by blizzards, strafings, and machine-guns from behind. Under these conditions many died and almost everyone lost a friend or relative. But even if the refugees succeeded in reaching German-held areas, they had to share the grim fate of German city-dwellers. De Zayas describes what awaited them:

> By far the largest holocaust of the war, claiming more victims than than the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki combined, was the fire bombing of Dresden.... This famous baroque city on the River Elbe was overcrowded with some 600,000 refugees from Silesia, many of whom had arrived in trains, while others had come in treks and camped where they could, hoping to stay in Dresden until they could return to Silesia. ... Three consecutive air-attacks involving more than 1500 planes were to turn the "Florence on the Elbe" into an inferno which consumed 90 percent of the old town and killed well over 100,000 persons, many of them miserable refugees from Silesia. (De Zayas, p.77)

Those who stayed behind had to live under Soviet occupation for a few years, which meant expropriation and subjection to arbitrary treatment by the respective commanders of the areas. A 44-year old mother of three children, living in a village in Pomerania, kept a diary during this time (Normann 1980). In her account the overriding concern lies with the pressing shortage of food, which prevailed all over Europe. On a psychological level she describes the incessant frustrations resulting on the one hand from being abused by the occupation authorities and her powerlessness to change the situation, and on the other hand from the disappointment with some of her compatriots who took advantage of other people's plight. Another reoccurring theme was the fear of being raped whenever a troop of soldiers passed through the village. It was not unusual, especially for girls or young women, to "be taken" several times a day. While some made a virtue of necessity, most had problems coping with the shame of being raped by a "savage", and more than a few women saw suicide as the solution. The physical hardships of starvation and 16 hours of labour per day were intensified by a typhoid epidemic that swept through central Europe just after the end of the war.

During this time the expulsion, or population transfer, of 5 million remaining Germans east of the Oder-Neisse line began. It had been agreed by the Allies at the Potsdam Conference (July 1945) that this was the best way to avoid future minority problems in the east European states. Although these transfers were to be conducted in an orderly and humane fashion, the reality was quite different:

> At a moment's notice, women and children are herded into trains, with only one suitcase each, and they are usually robbed on the way of its contents. The journey to Berlin takes days, during which no food is provided. Many are dead when they reach Berlin; children who die are thrown out of the window. ... According to a British officer now in Berlin, populations are dying, and Berlin hospitals "make the sights of concentration camps look normal." (B. Russell, quoted in De Zayas, p. 109)

Millions of Germans were driven from their home like cattle, were separated from their relatives and wandered aimlessly through the ruins of Germany until they found temporary shelter in a camp or someone's home. Bomb-wrecked and already overpopulated Germany [27] was ill prepared to accommodate an additional 11 million people, and the food-shortage turned into a famine. Reporting for *The Observer*, Isaac Deutscher gives his impression of life in post-war Germany (July 22, 1945): [28]

> But the modern 'adventurous Simplicissimus' is the German town-dweller, not the peasant. Rural Germany has now, on the whole, suffered very little compared with urban Germany. To walk among the ruins of the German cities is still a very depressing experience, however blunted one's sensitivity to sights of destruction and desolation may be. The grimness of those ruins is not diminished by the fact that in daytime the streets of Munich, Francfort, or Mainz are full of people. Where do these people live? In cellars and pathetic remnants of houses. But it is hard to imagine how the cellars can absorb all this urban crowd when it disappears from the streets just before curfew. It is still harder to imagine how these contemporary troglodytes manage to keep their fairly normal and civilised appearance.

Germany's future looked bleak until about 1948, when the Marshall Plan took effect; when U. S. investors contributed millions of dollars for the economic recovery of Europe, including the three western zones of Germany, which then became the Federal Republic in 1949. (The eastern, Soviet occupied zone of Germany became the German

---

[27] Apart from the indigenous population, there were also about 5 million non-Germans workers in Germany, the so-called Displaced Persons. They had been forcibly recruited by the Hitler army for military and civilian purposes. (cf. Deutscher, p. 46)

[28] Deutscher's various reports for *The Observer* and *The Economist* are collected in: Deutscher, I.: Reportagen aus Nachkriegsdeutschland, Hamburg: Junius Verlag 1980

Democratic Republic.) Although economic progress in the Federal Republic was tremendous, and the food-shortage overcome quickly, the housing problem persisted, and the refugees and expellees encountered animosity, being regarded as intruders by local Germans.

After 1949 emigration became possible for Germans, and amongst the first countries to open its doors was Canada. The large numbers of "How to" and "Where to emigrate" articles published in German newspapers during the 1950's (cf. Dietrich, 1950 – 1960) indicates that many Germans considered the alternative of building a new life overseas. It took up to three years for applications to be processed. By that time many young people had begun to establish families of their own, and life had returned to relatively normal again; i. e. remnants of German culture rose from the ashes and were revitalised, and social life regained its vivacity. Although beyond the means of some, theatre, concerts, and cabarets were nevertheless available, and people became used to regarding these enjoyments as a part of life again, as well as Sunday outings or gatherings at the pub. The parents interviewed in this study left a country which was just starting to recover from a disastrous past and where the present was marked by hard work as well as an abundance of vital energy, in order to settle in the Canadian prairies.

Historical Overview: Alberta

Most of the immigrant families interviewed in this study came directly to Alberta; two families initially lived in other western provinces before moving to Alberta, and one family had settled in southern Ontario. The following account provides some background information on the social and economic situation in Alberta during the 1950s, the time of the families' arrival in Canada. It is based on figures and analyses by social scientists [29] and serves the purpose of allowing the reader to put into context the various experiences reported by the immigrant families.

The post-war period in Alberta was marked by change, it was the time of transition from a predominantly rural, agricultural society to a more urban, industrialized one. In terms of population increase, Alberta experienced its second major growth period;[30] a result of inter-provincial migration, an increase in fertility rates,[31] and of large immigration. Table 1 shows the figures for total and for German immigration to Canada and Alberta during this period. It is noteworthy that from 1951 to 1956 people of German origin constituted 16 to 20 percent of all immigrants to Canada, but that they made up 27 to 31 percent of those immigrants who chose Alberta as their Province of Destination. This is to say that an unproportionally high number of German immigrants went to live in a province which had already a comparatively large percentage of people of German ethnic origin (11.5 % in 1951, comp. to Canada: 4.4 %). The significance of this fact has not been researched, but it seems quite plausible that the large number of German immigrants as well as of native Albertans with a German background somewhat facilitated the adjustment of the newcomers.

---

[29] cf. Alberta Bureau of Statistics 1981, Canada. Dept. of Citizenship and Immigration 1950 – 1960, Caldorola 1979, Card 1960, Mann 1955, MacPherson 1953, McVey 1977

Alberta's major growth stage after the last war was contingent upon the oil and gas discoveries made in 1947. At that time agriculture was the leading industry and accounted for over half of the province's net value in production. Following the oil and gas discoveries and subsequent development, the industrial areas of mining, manufacturing, and construction accounted for 67 percent of the net value in production by 1957 (cf. McVey, 1977, p. 10). The industrialisation was accompanied by urbanisation, the percentage of town and city dwellers increased from 47.6 % in 1951 to 63.3 % in 1961. These changes brought with them an alteration of the character of the population, expressed in different lifestyles, attitudes and values. To give a better idea of the direction and magnitude of this change, a brief description of the socio-political climate in Alberta before the oil boom follows.

In a sociological treatise on "The Canadian Prairie Provinces from 1870 to 1950", Card (1960) examines the value structure of the Prairies:

> At the core of the structure was region-wide commitment to individual success and security. Commitment to other-wordliness or intellectual interests were infrequent variants. Success was usually defined in terms of money and the ability to enjoy a standard of living remembered from elsewhere, taught in schools and advertisements, or observed among the prosperous. Security meant to enjoy such a standard consistently and indefinitely. This success-security core was intimately linked with other aspects of the value structure. It was reflected in a persistent orientation toward regional political and economic status. Full individual success and security could not be assured in a subordinate and dependent part of the

---

[30] a 41.8 % increase from 1951 to 1961, from 939,501 to 1,331,944 (cf McVey 1977)
[31] Alberta experienced a post-war baby boom; from 1951 to 1961 the birth rate was 28 births per 1000 inhabitants (cf. Alberta Bureau of Statistics 1981).

Table 1

Total and German Immigration to Canada and Alberta 1949 to 1960

Year	Canada Total	Canada German	% of Germans	Alberta Total	Alberta German	% of Germans
1949	86,422	5,541	6.4	7,574	1,077	14.2
1950	85,356	8,356	9.8	7,179	1,415	19.7
1951	211,220	36,053	17.1	12,997	3,637	28.0
1952	144,692	26,590	18.4	12,741	3,681	28.9
1953	174,154	34,516	19.8	15,085	4,678	31.0
1954	154,227	29,845	19.4	13,294	4,170	31.4
1955	109,946	18,082	16.5	7,843	2,125	27.1
1956	164,857	26,457	16.1	9,959	2,750	27.6
1957	282,164	29,564	10.5	21,131	3,122	14.8
1958	124,851	14,449	11.6	8,429	1,470	17.4
1959	106,928	10,781	10.1	7,423	1,338	18.0
1960	104,111	10,792	10.4	6,949	1,028	14.8

Source: Canada. Dept. of Citizenship and Immigration, Annual Reports 1949 to 1960.

> nation and economy, a perpetual victim of "heartless robbery". More directly, success and security valuations were related to the stress on work as a virtue, on the necessity for all proposals to be practical, on the high regard for self-help and for co-operation when self-help required group effort. (Card, 1960, p. 37)

If this was true for all Prairie provinces, there were socio-political characteristics specific to Alberta, which became evident in 1935 when the Social Credit Party won the election and stayed in power until 1971. In the 1930s, a time of economic depression when wheat farmers were facing the prospect of foreclosure and personal ruin, the proposal for a radical monetary reform espoused by the Social Credit Party fell on fertile ground in Alberta. [32] However, as Caldorola (1979a) points out, the economic climate alone cannot explain the success of the Social Credit in Alberta, because other areas in North America were also suffering from the depression. Rather, the Social Credit in Alberta was able to serve as a social movement which could elicit a certain unity and agreement from a very heterogeneous population, in addition to offering a solution to the economic crisis. In 1935 more than half of the voters were not native born Albertans, and the Social Credit movement provided this very diverse, insecure and often ethnically and religiously segregated population with new social bonds and a sense of collective identity. The key to the movement's success was its strong religiomoral leadership by the charismatic William Aberhart. He was a high-school principal and lay fundamentalist preacher, who had become a highly successful radio evangelist during the 1920s. It was on these Sunday afternoon religious broadcasts, which reached about two-thirds of the Alberta population in 1935, that Aberhart first began to introduce Social Credit ideas. They thus received an air of being an extension of religious truths, being deeply rooted in the basic Christian principles of justice and human dignity. At that time Albertans were very receptive to this combination of religious and economic morality.

---

[32] The original theory of Social Credit was developed in England in the 1920s, by Major C. H. Douglas, as a reaction and solution to the "great poverty in the midst of plenty", which was apparent in Europe after the first world war. Douglas saw the major problem in the gap between production and consumption, i.e. only the labour-costs of a product could be used for consumption. To increase the amount of money available for consumption, he advocated a reform of the capitalist monetary system. This involved a distribution of social dividends by the government to every member of society, not based on their participation in production, but on the potential productive power of the nation. (cf. Caldorola 1979 and MacPherson 1953)

In Alberta, W. Aberhart adapted the theory to the regional needs and basically proposed that each person would receive twenty-five dollars worth of "non-negotiable certificates" every month from the government. These were in effect cheques, which served as a supplement to one's other income. (At that time a good roast sold for 75 cents, and a good dwelling rented for $ 9.- a month.) (cf. Caldorola 1977a, p.38)

The nature of these strong religious and moral beliefs of Albertans was investigated by Mann (1955) in his work on "Sect, Cult and Church in Alberta". He points out that Alberta was distinguished by an extraordinarily large number of protestant fundamentalist sects and of cults, and also mentions that large portions of the membership of the established protestant churches leaned towards fundamentalism. Mann describes the sects as

> bitterly attacking modernism, including all theories of evolution and biblical criticism, (they) condemned the coldness, formality, and classconsciousness so often found in the churches, and opposed indulgence in such "worldly" pleasures as dancing and movies. In essence, their protest was against the middle class, its way of worship, its "laxity" of belief, its view of scientific knowledge, and its conventions of amusement. (Mann, 1955, p.28)

Through the combination of religion and politics, the Social Credit Party elevated these fundamentalist values to an official doctrine; and both Aberhart and his successor Manning (1943 - 1968), continued their activities as lay preachers and broadcast evangelists from their position as Premier of the province. Thus, the fundamentalist movement, which Mann regards as representing a reaction against the forces of urbanism, cultural maturity, and religious and economic centralisation, was prominent in Alberta for a long time, providing a defense of past traditions and mores, of the rural against the urban, and of the cultural independence of immigrant ethnic groups. Officially these attitudes prevailed in the province until the early seventies, but they were slowly being undermined by the effects of the new economic opportunities and by the newcomers attracted by them: immigrants and migrants with a different outlook on life.

The tremendous change in Alberta in the two decades of the 1950s and 1960s was marked by the shift from a rural to an urban population, by higher educational standards, [33] an increasing number of women participating in the labour force, [34] and a shift from employment in primary industry to employment in tertiary industry. [35] The economy was booming and the Social Credit government used the oil and gas revenues for the development of agricultural infrastructure, improvements to the road system, and the creation of a superb network of educational, health and welfare institutions throughout the province. (cf. Caldorola 1977a, p. 44)

In 1956, John A. Irving reported for *Saturday Night* [36] on the effects that the economic upswing had on the people in Alberta.

> Most farmers have not derived very much direct financial benefit. Like nearly everybody in Alberta they have, however, benefitted indirectly from the new roads, new schools, and impressive social services that the mounting oil and gas revenues of the provincial government have made possible. Some Albertans feel that the oil boom has had a deteriorating effect on the morale of the rural population. Certainly, many people living on the marginal and submarginal farms have welcomed the chance of ending the struggle by taking employment with an oil company or by flocking to one of the metropolitan centres to join the steadily increasing ranks of unskilled workers. ...
> The people of the metropolitan centres, of course, are enjoying the good things of life as never before. New and splendid residential areas have mushroomed so rapidly during the past decade, that one hardly recognizes Edmonton or Calgary from one year to the next. ... Such a high standard of living has been made possible partly by the oil boom, and partly by credit buying. The expanding economy has created universal optimism concerning the future, and this attitude has encouraged people to spend beyond their means. (Irving 1956)

In the course of industrialisation piety gave way to a more profane lifestyle, focusing on the appropriation of material goods. These trends certainly had an impact on the lives of the individual family, leading to more mothers working outside the home, and to a decreasing size of the average family.

---

[33] in 1941 only 40 % of the heads of the family had more than grade 8 education, in 1971 the figure was 70 % (Alberta Bureau of Statistics, 1981)

[34] in 1951 only 20.4 % of women participated in the labour force, compared to 30.8 % in 1961 and 44.4 % in 1971. (Alberta Bureau of Statistics, 1981)

[35] In 1951, 36.8 % of employed Albertans worked in primary industry, i.e. in the extraction of natural resources from the earth, such as agriculture, forestry, and mining; while 37.9 % were involved in the tertiary sector, i.e. the distribution of goods and services such as wholesale, retails, banking, government, education, and medical care. In 1971 the figures were 16.8 % for the primary and 51.1 % for the tertiary sector, while employment in secondary industry, manufacturing and production, was relatively stable around 25 %.

[36] Vol. 71, Oct 13, 1956, p. 14 -16

Apart from the above mentioned demographic statistics there is no research dealing specifically with the Alberta family during the period of the 1950s, but Elkin (1964) summarizes findings on the Canadian family in general, and some of his observations might help to illuminate certain aspects of family life in Canada which the German immigrants could observe with their new neighbours. In terms of family life-style, Elkin cites studies that portray the Canadian family as quite mobile, with the average family moving once every four years. The standard of living had been improving "with more and more families achieving, and undoubtedly taking for granted, cars, holidays, and new electrical appliances." (Elkin 1964, p. 93) However, many families had to resort to credit to afford this standard of living.

Within the home, the tv-set played an important role, and was turned on, on average, 40 hours per week, with the average Canadian watching 22 hours per week in 1961. In the area of family roles and relationships Elkin highlights two trends in the 1950s and 1960s: dissociation (of generations) and egalitarianism.

> Adolescents and children in school, who sometimes find that their parents are of limited help, more freely express their feelings toward them and, frequently, if they can manage, go their own way. The parents in turn behave more freely, and with fewer dutiful obligations to their own relatives and aging parents. The wife, although she considers her family paramount, does not feel so bound to the home and may, if she chooses, go to work to earn money for the family perhaps thereby also finding a more interesting life. The wives and husbands both have a part in making important family decisions and more freely discuss with each other their thoughts and problems; and if they consider it advisable, more readily separate. (Elkin 1964, p. 136)

The German immigrant children interviewed in this study were brought up during this time in Canada, and the following case descriptions show where their families fitted in with these trends and where they differed from their Canadian neighbours.

B. Demonstration of the Method: The Interviews with Petra and her Parents

The following presentation of the first case is considerably more extensive and detailed than the others, as it serves to document the methodological procedures outlined in chapter III. The same method was applied to all cases, but for the sake of brevity the step by step procedure is outlined only for the first one, while for the others only the last step, the descriptive summary of the essential issues is presented. Apart from the descriptions, which represent the world-views of the children and their parents, and which are mostly presented in their words and phrases, each case also includes a short summary and analysis by the author, reflecting her interpretation of the family's reports in her own language.

The Interview Situation

I had met Petra about half a year before the interview was conducted, through my interest in the German/English bilingual school programme she is involved in. The interview was conducted in English, on two afternoons a week apart. The atmosphere was relaxed and we interrupted each session once for a coffee break.

On a week night between these two sessions Petra's parents were interviewed. Petra had arranged the time and she and her husband were present when I spoke to her parents. The conversation took place in the living room of the P.'s spacious, modern and immaculately clean house. We spoke German. I started the interview by introducing myself, telling them about my personal and family background, my education, and by explaining my intentions for the study. They asked me a few questions about my parents and my situation in Canada and then we moved right into their history. Mr. P. was quite casual throughout the conversation , whereas I sensed some tension on Mrs. P.'s part in the beginning, but she loosened up as we went along. Mr. P. left the room once to answer a telephone-call. During the interview I was impressed with their openness, honesty and the apparent thoughtfulness with which they responded to my questions. Afterwards I was offered coffee and various kinds of homemade cake and I had a chance to observe Mr. and Mrs. P. interacting with one of their younger daughters who had just come into the house. The way they related to each other struck me as being very kind and humorous.

General Information

Petra is a 24 year old woman who grew up in two cities in Alberta. She works as a teacher in a bilingual programme (English/German), is married, and does not yet have any children. She is the oldest of four daughters, her sisters being one, two, and ten years younger than she. She is a Christian who belongs to a Fundamentalist church.

Her mother was born in 1932, in a German colony in Volhynia. She spent her childhood in a "Fatherland" in Poland, where her family had moved following the "Call of the Fuehrer". In 1945 she and part of her family were captured by the Soviet army and put into work-camps. They managed to escape to West Germany in 1947. After many wanderings her family was reunited in a temporary home in Westphalia.

There Mrs. P. met her future husband, Mr. P.. He was born in 1930 in Pomerania, and his family moved to Westphalia in 1937. He survived the war years working here and there for farmers. Neither Mr. nor Mrs. P. had completed their education due to the war. Mr. P.'s brother had emigrated to Canada, and Mr. P. decided it would be advisable for him to leave Germany as well, because he could not see any opportunities for himself there. Before his departure for Alberta he became engaged to Mrs. P..

Since two of Mrs. P.'s siblings were also planning to emigrate to Canada, her father decided that the whole family should go, because they had nothing to lose and this way they could all stay together. They arrived in 1952 on a sugar-beet contract in southern Alberta.

Mr. and Mrs. P. were married in 1955. At that time Mr. P. was still completing an electrician-apprenticeship with an oil-company, while Mrs. P. contributed to the family budget through housework. After Petra's birth she stayed at home.

Major Topics

The central issue of this study deals with the question of what it really means to grow up as a child of German immigrants in Canada. When Petra was asked to answer this question at the very end of the interview she replied:

> "I don't think I thought about that much until not too long ago until I was out of school and well into university. We spoke German at home, but that we were kids of immigrants that was never anything that was on top of my mind." "No, in fact, I don't think of myself as a child of an immigrant, I think of myself as a Canadian with a German background and that's it."

These statements show that until very recently Petra was not aware that it was somehow unusual to have parents who came to Canada as foreigners. She knew that her family was different from most Canadian families in that they spoke German at home and that some of their customs were different. But this was seen as an idiosyncracy of her family rather than having ethnic or nationalistic undertones. In order to understand how she, an immigrant child, grew up without thinking much about it, the interview will now be analyzed in more detail. It began with Petra's description of herself, and this, in connection with a part about Petra's goals in life, will be used to establish the major topics to be looked at in detail.

Petra: "I think the biggest influence in my life was our family life. We had a close knit family. My parents always had time for us, we were never turned away. Dad was very busy in church activities, but he had always time for us kids. A family atmosphere was very much fostered. We always spoke German at home and sometimes as kids we couldn't understand why, we got angry sometimes because of it, but it never deteriorated any relationships because of that. Our church life had a big influence on us and on me. It was all in German, too. Sunday school and everything, and then in the new city the Sunday school and Pioneer girls and so on was in English, and now the service is in English, too."
Gisela: "So if I would ask you now, what are you now or who *are* you now, how would you describe yourself? What is important for you as how you stand now?"
Petra: "My Christianity and my church life still is very important to me, I guess, and my home life with my husband now, too. Teaching is vey important for me, too, and I really enjoy it and have a lot of fun with the kids, especially teaching in the German bilingual programme and watching them pick up the language so effortlessly. But I think more important than my teaching is my marriage and my husband and my family from home and his family, too, the bigger family."
Gisela: "So you are a happily married wife..."
Petra: "Mmm hmm."
Gisela: "...and a successful teacher."
Petra: "Well, I hope so, I enjoy it, and the kids are learning."
Gisela:"Yes, and the other important aspect is your church. Is there anything else? Like, if you had to describe to someone who doesn't know you; if you have to outline it in a letter for someone who wants to get to know you, well...
Petra: "Okay, I enjoy outdoor types of activities, outdoor sports, I really enjoy cross country skiing and skating. I enjoy working at home,too. Like, doing housework, doing crafts and things like that. I enjoy travelling, and when I went to Europe I enjoyed that very much, getting to know different people and learning from people, I really enjoy that, too."
Gisela:"What do you think were the most important events in your life that made you become what you are?"
Petra:"Again the time we spent as a family, the time we spent together singing, the time we spent together playing games, and our holidays, and so on. The decision to follow Christ made a big, definite change in my life. I was always glad and proud that I could read and speak another language, I think sometimes it helped me to understand other people, too. Like thinking back (teaching) in elementary school, when another child would come and not know what is going on because of their second language. And you would understand them a little bit more, and the situations they were in. Because, when I first started school I didn't know a word of English and I just started out straight into the English."

Gisela: "What are your goals in life? Do you have any?"
Petra:"Well, one of my goals was always to teach and be a good teacher. And I'd like to become a better teacher, I think I am at least a half decent teacher, and I'd like to keep working at that – I enjoy that. One of my goals is to – I would like to have a family and bring up the kids in a way that instills some of the values my parents have given me, and some of the aspects that they've been able to hand to me. I'd like to do the same for mine someday. Both my husband and I together would like to someday be able to travel a bit – go to Europe together. He's been and I've been but we'd like to go together, too. Now, whether that will ever become a reality, I don't know; but we'd like to. We'd someday like to build just a little bit bigger house, where we've got a family room and so on, although that is not a number one priority by far. One of my goals is to have that sort of hospitality and open home that my parents have always had. Our home was always a regular youth hostel, there were more people coming in and going out of there, that I am sure my Dad fed as many people over twice he had in his own family. But to show that hospitality to other people, because I know a lot of young people – they weren't afraid to come and just sit and chat and talk and leave again. And I'd like to be able to

have that sort of openness."

Four major topics are emerging from Petra's general description of herself. They are interrelated in many ways but will be looked at separately here. The first concerns the importance of the family in Petra's life, which she regards as a very positive influence in her development. Secondly, she mentions her religious beliefs as playing a major role in her life, followed by her occupation as a teacher. A fourth topic pervades all the preceding ones; it is the speaking of the German language, which has become a distinct feature of how she views herself.

Looking at her goals in life, two of these topics surface again: her aspiration to be a good teacher and the emphasis she puts on aspects related to family and home – the wish to raise her children in a fashion similar to her own upbringing; to establish a hospitable home and to travel with her husband.

Other topics under investigation in this study, which Petra did not mention in her self- description, are her school-experiences and her ethnic/national identification. They will also be looked at.

For each of the topics a table was compiled, including in the left hand column those parts of the interview related to the topic, divided into "meaning units" as expressed by Petra. From these units summary statements were extracted and listed in the right hand column. They were then condensed into a description of Petra's and her family's experiences.

Topical Tables

Table 2: Family Socialisation

Meaning Units	Summary Statements
G.: Who made the decisions in your family? P.: Mom and Dad very much together, but Dad's word was always the final say. Although we never hesitated in going up to Dad and reasoning or saying: Why? That doesn't make any sense to us. If it didn't make any sense to us anyway and to him it was right, it was still the final word. It was the final decision, but it was not that we were ever afraid to go to Dad and say Why? Why do have to be in at such and such a time tonight?	The father made the final decision in the family, but it was subject to discussion.
In fact, I know, my parents built up a real respect for them in us. Like, during the teenage years we didn't rebel or so, simply because we didn't want to hurt Dad. Not because those feelings weren't going on in you, they were natural feelings for any kid going through that age, but when you wanted to stay out with everyone else and were not too hot with what Mom and Dad said, you'd go: No, I can't hurt them. It was just a close family tie thing.	Petra was brought up to respect her parents; and obeyed because she did not want to hurt them.
G.: Do you remember that your parents were different towards you than other parents towards their children? P.: Um, sometimes I guess we thought they were stricter, but... And, in fact, Dad came across as quite strict to a lot of other people. But, because that openness was always there, it didn't seem as such, no. G.: What was he most strict about? P.: That's hard to say. I don't know, just in general; the rules that he stated, and what he said went. Once they were set, you obeyed. If other people say be in at 11, and if they're in at 11:30 it's okay ... But it wasn't okay – that was not okay. You didn't go over those rules.	Her father was very strict, but this was accepted, since he was open to communication.
G.: So you were in at 11 and not five past? P.: Exactly. And if you were in the middle of a traffic accident you made sure you phoned home and let them know that you were stuck; for some reason your ride hasn't left yet and you've been trying to get them going, you phoned home, you made sure.	Petra always kept her curfew, and if something unexpected happened, she contacted her parents.

I know we helped a lot at home as kids, too. We had a playground across the street and we always helped Mom. We had to do the vaccuuming and dusting, and polishing the floors, we had hardwood floors.
G.: You were expected to do that?
P.: Yes. We helped with the dishes and so on, too.
G.: But that didn't bother you, or?
P.: Not in general, it was something that was quite accepted. Sometimes you came home and you wanted to go out and play. But that does sometimes any kid – it wasn't anything that stood out, no.
Maybe one rule that we had different than a lot of people, is, that when we came home, homework was first, before we went out to the playground. No matter who was there, no matter if our friends were already playing. We did our homework first, then was the play.
G.: So your parents put a lot of emphasis on school?
P.: It was important, very important. Later on, when I was in junior high, at the end of junior high we could go out for a while beforehand. By that time we had learned ourselves how to handle some of that and if you needed a break, you could go for a walk and talk a while and come back in. But as kids that was a rule, a hard and fast rule.
G.: Did you discuss school at home with your parents, if you had any problems, or what happened?
P.: Oh yes. Lots of times. In fact, I remember I had problems with my time tables in Grade 3 and my Dad sat on the rocking chair and I sat on the footstool in front of him, and he'd fire the time tables at me, and I would get the answers back and first memorized it 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, and all the way up to 20, and going backwards, too. And the same for 3 times table, 3, 6, 9, 12, and backwards and all the way up. We practised them, oh yes, we did a lot. And they sat down and did homework with us, too.
G.: So did they check it almost every day?
P.: Yes, we were never left out in the cold. Not like: "Go up to your room and do your homework." It was done at the kitchen table where Mom was. She was sometimes making supper, but she was always there and came and helped.

Petra was expected to do her chores at home, she perceived this as not unusual.

Petra's parents put a heavy emphasis on school and established a very distinctive rule saying that under any circumstances homework came before play.

Petra's parents took an active interest in school and supported her in various ways with her school-work.

G.: But your parents insisted that you do your homework. Did they also insist that you did well in school?

P.: Well, I don't think it was a pressure. They wanted us to do well, but I don't think it was a pressure. I think they still accepted us. I know I had to work hard for school, for my marks. My sister just sort of... away she went. But they accepted us as such and they didn't compare us. In fact, sometimes we got frustrated not because our parents compared us, but because some teachers compared us as kids. That didn't make any sense to us, you know. Nowadays the teachers don't compare them but the parents do, and then they cause problems that way.

G.: Did your parents ever talk about what you were going to do after high school, that you should go to university?

P.: Yes, it was talked about that we should get some sort of education afterwards. In fact, Mom made a big point about it, but it didn't have to be university. If I had chosen a course at technical college that would have been allright. But some further education, yes. For our own good. In fact, Mom says many times now: I just want you to feel good about yourself. And if you haven't got any education, any post secondary education, you feel like you're not up to par with the rest of the people. And I want you to have a chance in the world. So, something else after high school, but not necessarily university.

G.: What did you do together with your parents?

P.: First of all, every year we went on holidays in the summer. Every year we went somewhere. Sometimes it was just to the mountains and camping for a week or two weeks. A couple times we went to a tour of the States. To the Grand Canyons and Disneyland and up the West Coast to the Yellowstone Park. We've been to Vancouver and Long Lake. Sometimes it was a lake were we could settle down for a while. Or Kelowna, to get fruit. But every year we went on at least a couple of weeks of holidays.

Her parents wanted Petra to do well in school, but they did not try to pressure her beyond her limits, rather she was accepted for what she did.

Petra's mother emphasized the value of a post-secondary education for her daughter. She thought it was necessary for Petra's feeling of self-worth.

Petra's parents made a point to go on a family holiday once a year, to spend time together as a family.

G.: And it was basically camping?
P.: Mostly. In fact, the only time I ever remember sleeping in a hotel was, if it really poured and everything was soaked to the bone, and Mom and Dad figured they'd have a whole sick family on their hands.
G.: Related to that, it just occured to me, were your parents financially well off all the time you can remember?
P.: No. No way. My parents first lived in a basement suite for the first three years, where there was one bedroom, really small master bedroom, and one room which was kitchen, dining room, living room, everything else, and a small bathroom. And my Mom sewed, and she got old coats and things from other people and took them apart and made new coats for us children. She basically clothed us until I was eighteen on the family allowance cheque alone – boots, coats, everything.
G.: Did you ever feel the lack of money in your family in comparison to other children?
P.: I think we noticed it for a while in junior high years. Now my parents are much better off, and now my little sister – she's fourteen now – she gets a lot more things than we ever did. And I'm glad she can have that, I never begrudge her for a minute for having it, but she gets a lot more. When the young people went skiing, we just didn't go because of that. First of all we didn't earn enough money babysitting to afford that, and my parents couldn't send us. There was no way. Sometimes like that you felt it, or with going for coffee, when we'd usually just order a coke, because that's about all we could afford on our babysitting salary. We didn't go out as much, let's say, or do those types of things. But there was never a lack of food or that we felt there was a lack of clothing.
G.: Do you remember any major conflicts with your parents?
P.: Let me see. One of the things was that there was always German in the home. We spoke German at home. And sometimes we'd be playing downstairs and Dad would yell down: Deutsch sprechen!, and we'd mumble and groan, but we'd carry on in German then. We had certain conflicts, too, with Mom and with Dad, but they never lasted very long. It wasn't anything big or major.

Petra's family wasn't very well off, but she only noticed that in junior high school, when the other children could afford more things.

The one bone of contention Petra remembers within her family was her father's insistence on speaking German at home, all the time.

Table 3: Religion

Meaning Units	Summary Statements
(speaking about rules) P.: It was a choice that I had made by myself. We weren't to go to dances and things like that in high school. But that wasn't because of the German, that was because of our Christian beliefs. But that was a choice that I had made by myself.	Petra differed from many of her schoolmates because of her religious beliefs, which did not allow her to attend certain social activities such as school dances.
(speaking about activities outside of school) P.: I took piano lessons up until Grade 10 and so practised piano, too. I went to Pioneer Girls, something like Girl Guides, except with a Christian emphasis, until the end of Grade 9, and then started helping right away. That was once a week. Then I started going to our church's Young Peoples group. We had all sorts of activities, sometimes it was Bible study, sometimes it was things like scavanger hunts or volleyball games or parties where we played some games and had some food afterwards or great number of things.	Most of Petra's social activities were centered around her church community.
G.: So you spent most of your free time with your church group. P.: Yes, or friends from there, and sometimes friends from school as well. G.: Yes, but in terms of organized activities it was church? And you enjoyed that? P.: Yes. Yes, very much so, because it wasn't necessarily things that were always church related. We did all sorts of things, we went skating with them and we went tobogganing with them and we did just anything you could imagine. G.: And did you have many of your friends in that group? P.: Of those school friends? The school friends, I think, came in once in a while, but they were sort of different. G.: So it was a different group? P.: Yes. I'm much closer to a lot of people from the Young Peoples than I am with school friends. Wwe've sort of drifted apart in a lot of ways, in interests, and finding jobs in different areas; whereas a lot of church friends have stayed. Also, a lot of my church friends are still younger. G.: Was that just a German church? Or, were they all from German background? P.: Most of them, yes. G.: Were they immigrant children like you or had their families been here in Alberta for a while? P.: No, most of them were in about the same situation that I was in.	Petra enjoyed being together with this group very much and is still in contact with them. Most of them were German immigrant children like she herself, thus coming from a similar background.

G.: What would be the most important aspects in raising your children? P.: I want to teach them the love of God that my parents taught me, the love of God in general, to see if I can lead them into that same personal relationship that my parents have done.	The most important aspect in raising her children would be to teach them the love of God.
G.: What was important for you (in deciding to marry your husband)? P.: Number one, he's a Christian, and it would have been completely out of the question if he wouldn't have been.	The most important condition in Petra's choice of a spouse was that he was a Christian.
(speaking about obedience) G.: So, it's not uncoditional obedience? P.: No, not unconditional. The condition that, if it does not overstep the Bible and Christianity, than that authority is to be followed.	Although Petra pays very much respect to authorities and obeys most of their demands, the word of the bible and her belief override these human authoroties.
G.: You said that one of the most important things in your life was, when you made the decision to follow Christ. Now, maybe you could tell me a little bit more about that. What it means to you, and when it happened. What it meant to you then and what it means to you now. P.: Okay, I guess there were two basic incidents in my life. One was the first decision, I was at camp and I was ten years old. I'd always grown up in a Christian home, and it wasn't anything that I didn't know where the Bible was. And yet, then I felt, I knew God was talking to me and saying: Yes, you're a sinner, too. You haven't accepted me, I'm still not Lord of your life. And at that time I prayed and I said: Okay, Lord, I am a sinner, forgive me and take me as your child, and then Christ became the main focus of my life and it was more important to me to do what he wanted than other things. G.: Was that through Bible reading?	

P.: No, it was basically through camp. The basic event was, when the pastor spoke to us, and I can't even remember what that sermon was specifically was about. And I know that built up, and my parents, when I told them , were very happy for me, and they also made it very important to me,that I do my Bible reading, and I pray every day. And then it built, and the relationship with Christ grew more and more, and he's somebody very real in my life and the most important thing of all. And then somehow I drifted a little, got a little bit further away from it and forgot to do my Bible reading, and basically that way drifted away. And then at the camp when I was fouteen , and I guess partly because of the teenage turmoil years, again at that camp I made a recommittment to Christ and said I've drifted away and once more I am going for you. And that was more a decision on my own and it was just watching other people. Reading – again getting into the atmosphere of Bible study, although we always did it as a family at home. But at camp there was a time set aside and you were stuck in your bunk and that's what it was set aside for; and if you didn't study your Bible you were looking at the wall. So that again brought me much closer to Christ and it's just been a growing thing since. And it's more important to me than my job even. I know very well, that if I'm not careful, I can lose my job for certain things, but if a child comes up to me, and asks me: Is there a God?, and: Does God care for me?, I'll tell them, because that is more important to me. And I know very well that if I have real parent complaints, I could run into troubles with it.

Petra grew up in a Christian home, and during two events in her youth at Bible camps she committed herself to a Christian way of life. Since then Christ has become a very real part in her life, overpowering everything else in importance.

Table 4: Occupation

Meaning Units	Summary Statements
G.: Did you always want to become a teacher? P.: Yes. And I looked at a lot of other ideas, too. In fact, I was once thinking of going into laboratory technician and into ... I can't rememember all the different things that I had looked into. So many different ideas, but it was either something or teaching was the other alternative. People would always say, Petra, don't go into teaching. You'll never get a job. But I finally decided that that's what I really want to do, if I kept coming back to it. And I finally sent my application form into university. It was the last possible day, and i said: Okay, God, if you don't want me to become a teacher then my application form won't get there on time... And I'm teaching and I'm very happy with it and I just love it.	Petra became a teacher, because that was the occupation she really liked. She went into the field of education despite other people's warning that she would be unemployed.
G.: Do you want to go any further? P.: In education itself? G.: Or in terms of occupation? P.: Well, I don't think I'd ever want to go into the administrative end of it. I enjoy working with the kids, so I don't think I ever want to do that. As far as my education goes, I don't know yet if I want to go on to more university. I think I have so many other side interests right now. I'd like to take a tailoring course first. I'd like to take some craft courses. Things like that come for me right now before those other things.	Petra enjoys her work within the classroom and is content doing this. She does not want to move into an administrative position, since she would be deprived of the most rewarding aspect of her job: the everyday contact to the children.

Table 5: School Experiences

Meaning Units	Summary Statements
P.: When I first started school, I didn't know a word of English, and I just started out straight into the English... G.: And you didn't have too many problems there? P.: Well, I guess I had. Mom says I had a little bit of a problem at first. But that wasn't because of the language, it was simply because I was young. I started when I was five, and I didn't have a kindergarten experience and I was just more interested in playing half the time than I was in learning. My teachers had said to my Mom that I was just playing too much, and daydreaming, and doing things.	When Petra started school, she did not speak English. However, she does not remember this as being a problem, she only remembers some difficulties because she was too playful.
Sometimes I must have used the language as a tool, as a ply: that I didn't understand everything yet, or something like that. I know of one incident that stands really clearly. In Grade 3 we were asked what bark was, in this story. It said something about the bark of a tree. And the teacher said: well, what does the bark mean? I didn't answer the question in my book and she asked me why not, and I said, I don't know, what it means. And she said, sure you do; and I said no, it means – like a dog barks, but that's all I know. And so she said: You know, you don't use your language as an excuse. That stands to me that I must have sometimes used language as a ploy.	Petra recalls that she must have used her German as an excuse for not learning well enough. But her teacher in Grade 3 made her aware of this, and from then on Petra stopped doing so.
G.: And from then on you knew your English? P.: Yes, right. That teacher did a lot for me. She got me working, she understood me. She was not insensitive at all. I know that I sometimes had a hard time at learning, but she never lost patience with me; she always encouraged me. G.: So that was your elementary teacher? P.: Grade 3 teacher, that really did a lot for me. From then on I just kept building up, and most of junior high and all the way through high school I was an honour student. G.: So you never had any problems after elementary school? P.: After Grade 3 – not that I know of, no. And the problems even below don't stand out to me as problems. In my mind I don't remember them as such.	Petra's Grade 3 teacher was very sensitive to her needs and provided her with a lot of support and encouragement, which helped Petra to become a top student, she continued to be one throughout her school–career.

G.: So you never went home crying, because you didn't know anything, because you couldn't understand?
P.: Not that I remember, no. I had braids when I was a child, and my hair got pulled many times, and sometimes dunked into all sorts of things – paint and what not.
G.: What were the problems that you do remember, or did you ever have any?
P.: Well, again, like I said before, I think I did have some because I was young. And I do know that I had the first year, or for part of the first year, troubles with reading and so on. Um, that may have been partly due to language, I won't deny that. But it very much – like, I know, even the teachers said to Mom it stemmed because I was young. I was just more interested in playing than I was in other things.
G.: So, did you parents help you a lot then with your reading?
P.: We did things together at home and I don't remember it ever being a really strained or a really pressured situation. Some kids in my class that are in Grade 1 or 2, their parents get home, and: You've got to learn now and you sit down, and they practise another half hour every single day after school. Well, the poor kid has had his fill and he's struggling anyway, he needs a bit of a breather and not an hour or two hours every night sort of thing. I never remember it as being that.
G.: But your parents' English was good enough to help you?
P.: Mom had more problems than Dad did. But Dad worked with an oil company and in an English environment. He took a lot of courses himself to build up his electrician and mechanical things, and he took evening courses. So I think Dad never had any problems with English at all.
G.: And your mother's reading was good ...
P.: Good enough to help us at that time.
G.: Yes, to get it going in English.
P.: Yes. Later on it was hard for her, with vocabulary and so on. And she had to more direct us to dictionaries or we had to wait till Dad was home. She directed us rather than giving us help. Which was probably just as good.

The only troubles Petra had were related to her physical appearance her long braided hair served as a target for the teasings of her classmates.

Petra does not remember having any problems in school with speaking German as a first language. During her first year she had some difficulties with reading, but she attributes this to her playfulness rather than to language-problems.

Her parents helped Petra to overcome these problems without putting pressure on her.

Later on Petra's mother supported her not through direct help but by directing her how to find help.

G.: How did you get along with your classmates?
P.: As far as I remember, basically well.
G.: Did you have any friends? I mean, good friends, at school?
P.: I had one that sticks out and it was a friend most of school. Grades 4, 5, and 6. Grade 7 we sort of drifted apart, because our interests were really, really different. But Grades 4, 5, and 6 a girl Frances and I were quite close and we walked home together, and she was on the way home, a block away from us. And I dropped in there and we had our little girl secret things. Sometimes my sisters had to wait outside while we went inside and talked about something -- who knows what it was about. Sometimes it was just to show her new Barbie doll or whatever.
G.: Did you have any problems with other classmates?
P.: I remember running away from a couple of boys and being chased from them for a while. Then Dad went to school, the teacher didn't know what was going on, and finally something had to be done. As far as I know, they were just bullies and I think they did it to whoever happened to be there for a while, and I happened to be going home the same way they were.
G.: And how about your teachers, did you have any problems with them?
P.: I remember school as a very positive experience. Again, Grade 1 and 2 I don't remember very much. Grade 3 I know the teacher did an awful lot for me and really built up my self-image. Grade 4, I remember the teacher being a really special teacher. We had a student teacher that year, too, for a period. I don't remeber what her name was, but I remember we did a unit on Hawaii and this Frances girl and myself made up a little Hawaiian dance and everything. In Grade 5 I broke my leg once, and I remember the teacher really went all out. I had to stay at school for lunch, because it was too far for Mom to come and pick me up and eveybody else went home. So she would give me other things to do. She found things for me to do, and made me feel like this was really, really important.

Petra had a close girl-friend from her school through Grade 4 to 6, with whom she shared many secrets.

Petra experienced one troublesome incident with her classmates, she was being chased by some boys in elementary school.

School was a very positive experience for Petra; she enjoyed it, admiring most of her teachers, remembering them as being very supportive and sensitive to her special needs. She thinks that all of them were from an Anglo-Canadian background.

It wasn't just busy work, it was things that would help me along. I know in Grade 6 I had a run-in with one teacher, the science teacher, somehow him and I just didn't hit it off. But it was an isolated experience, I enjoyed school.

And you did get along well with your teachers, and most of the time you adored them, or some of them?

P.: Oh yes I think back on it now, very much so.

G.: Do you know whether any of those teachers were either German of from other ethnic groups as well?

P.: Don't think so, not when I think of the names.... Not as far as I know.

G.: How many kids were from other ethic groups in your classes. On average, or were there any?

P.: That I don't know.

G.: You don't know. It was never emphasized when you went to school?

P.: I don't even know. I couldn't even tell you if we had a black child or an Indian child in our classes. In high school I know we did, because one of the girls was a really close friend of mine. But I don't know through elementary school. Until Grade 9, when we moved here and I got that East Indian friend and a Chinese friend.

G.: Let's talk about high school and junior high school. Grade 9, that's junior high school?

P.: Grade 9 – that's when we moved here – in the summer between Grade 8 and 9.

P.: Yes, we moved here and the first while it was devastating, because it was just a great big change. That age group and leaving all the friends behind, and coming to a place where you don't have a single solitary friend. But I made close friends here. I made one friend that still writes me a lot. I think they're English background, I'm not sure. And then I had a close East Indian friend, I still see them every once in a while, too. Although that's not that close anymore. And I had quite a close Chinese friend, too, during that time, as well as other friends.

G.: Yes. Were you aware that they were different, at that time?

P.: No, it never stuck out as anything, no. Except that we had fun, because we all came from a different ethnic area. Teresa was English, I was German, Rajmid was Indian and Sophia was more toward the Chinese, or no, she was Pakistani as a matter of fact. And then I had a Chinese friend, Joanne, still. And we had fun, sometimes we went to each other's place and played cooks.

G.: Did they still speak their ethnic languages at home with their parents.

During Petra's elementary and early high school years no attention was given to the ethnic origin of the pupils, and so she does not remember the ethnic background of her classmates.

When her family moved cities it was quite a dramatic experience for Petra to enter a new school.

However, she made close girl–friends soon, most of them being from ethnic origins other than British or Anglo–Canadian.

P.: Not all of them. English is English. The Indian, yes, the Pakistani, yes, the Chinese girl understood it, but she didn't speak it. But the others did. Yes, they spoke it at home.
G.: Was that something you had in common as well?
P.: I don't know that it ever brought us together. We were girls, we had the same sort of interests. We just very much enjoyed our Home Ec classes. French was one of our options, and it wasn't everybody's option. We were all people that didn't necessarily just slough off, we had to work to get our marks. So we had the same types of values. I guess that's what more than anything brought us together.
G.: Yeah, and these values were hard work
P.: Working was one of them. Working and school was important to us, and we all enjoyed our Home Ec classes, sewing and cooking, that sort of thing. And we weren't in the "rowdy bunch". We didn't smoke, we didn't go out to drinking parties. I think that makes a difference, too. Especially, you know, Grade 9 people , that's what they like to do, that's what they're experimenting with. And we didn't do that, and I think that's part of what brought us together, too.
G.: And how did you do in school?
P.: I enjoyed it. I remember Grade 10 as being the most enjoyable of my high school years. And I worked hard at it, but I got honours all the way, from Grade 7, 8, not 9, Grade 9 I didn't quite make it, and Grade 10, 11, and 12, and I did really well at university, too.
G.: What were the subjects that you liked most? P.: Math was one of them. People think I'm nuts, but I enjoyed math and I still do, and I enjoyed science, and I enjoyed home ec – I think, home ec was my favourite.
G.: And which were the ones that you liked least?
P.: Social studies I didn't particularly like, because we had to do a lot of essay writing, and I'm not much of a writer. I enjoy if I have to bring out certain things that I know and understand. I would by far rather have an oral exam than have to write things on paper.
G.: Did you do anything extra, in terms of extracurricular activities at schoo?
P.: There wasn't all that much. In university I was involved with the VCF, but that's about it. And in school, too, I was involved with a Christian Fellowship Club. On occasion I went to a basketball game or something like that after school. But not that I could say I was really involved – extracurricular.

With these girls Petra shared a number of values and interests, among them were an emphasis on hard work to do well in school; an interest in home economics as well as an objection to smoking, drinking and similar pastimes popular amongst the other students.

Petra was an honours student throughout her high school career, with Home Ec and Math being her favourite subjects. She did not like Social Studies because of its emphasis on written expression, with which she has slight difficulties.

Petra was not involved in extracurricular activities at school, the only club she participated in was the Inter Christian Fellowship Club.

Table 6: Ethnic and National Identification

Meaning Units	Summary Statements
G.: Did you experience any prejudice because of being German. P.: Not that I remember. I can't remember that. G.: Did the people in high school know that you were from a German background? P.: Oh yes, they knew we spoke German and they knew I understood German, and if anything, I think I was proud of it. I don't remember any backfirings because of it. G.: I just wondered, at that time, did they show any of these war movies where the Germans are always depicted as the bad people? P.: I don't know. You see, we never had a TV at home until I was in Grade 10 or so. And even then, we didn't have time for it half the time, and what we did watch was very selective. G.: But from your classmates you didn't get anything in that respect? P.: Not that, no.	Petra's acquaintances knew that she came from a German family, but this was never held against her.
G.: Coming from a German background, did that play a big role in your life? Or the nationality problem as such? P.: I don't think it became a problem as much as I was proud to have something else. At Christmas time it was, because Christmas celebrations are so special. I had something extra and it was something I could share with other people. I don't think it was ever anything negative.	Petra's German background never posed any problems for her, rather it gave her pride in having something "extra".
G.: And was it more of a family thing, or was it more like a national celebration. P.: No, it was more a family thing. I mean it came from a Christian tradition, but I think it was more a family thing. The things we did were either family bound or church bound, rather than nationalistic.	The German traditions were regarded as a family affair without nationalistic undertones.
G.: Could you describe to me what German culture means to you – just as a personal thing. P.: Oh, I guess I know German culture mostly by the songs, the music, and probably the more older style German music, because that's what we heard at home. I really enjoy listening to the old folk songs, and singing them. Christmas time and all the things that go with it; and Advent. And the Dirndl, I was always proud to wear one, and I have one, and I still enjoy it on special occasions. When it fits I wear it. I don't know of anything else that's personal that sticks with just me. Except the language that I can speak with the people.	For Petra, German culture is represented by old folk songs, an ethnic dress, Christmas and Advent traditions as well as the language.

G.: If you think about German people, what's special about them? If this is a typical German and this is a typical Canandian, and this is a typical Frenchmen, what distinguishes the German?
P.: Okay, a typical German conjures up in my mind as somebody that works and sets goals and goes towards them. Somebody that sometimes can be insensitive towards other people. Um, I know it's something that I have to watch myself, they can be strongwilled or headstrong. And that's what the insensitive comes out of sometimes. Somebody that cares a lot for family type things. You know, family is important and close. Good work ethics, is typical German, I would say. In general I would think typical Germans like music and like to talk and like to be together. Time is very important to the German people, and proper etiquette is important. When you go to somebody's house you bring a rose along, or you bring something along. You never "duz" them, if you haven't been on those terms, you always "siez" them, that sort of etiquette. That's about all.
G.: What does Canadian culture mean for you?
P.: Canadian to me is a lot more all round, it includes the German people, the Ukrainian people, the French people, the whole kaboo. Maybe some of that is due because I'm from a German background myself and I'm interested in the other sorts of people and the style of living they lead, the recipies they use, and the cooking they use. I might not be so interested in it if I wasn't from sort of a different background myself. But I think Canadianism is all this put together. Canadians as compared to Germans are on the surface much more friendly, much quicker to build a friendship. When German people build a friendship it's there, it's solid, it's stable. – And the Canadian people, it's a lot more easy come easy go. Also the work ethics – a German will come in and they'll work until quitting time, they'll work hard at it. – The Canadian: Well, if it doesn't get done, who cares, really, you know, I'm putting my time in. Not all, but all round, the average. And yet I'm proud to be Canadian, because of all the things Canada has put together in the last while. And it's not easy to put all these cultures together into one and still function together and still care for each other. That is sometimes not easy. The way I perceive it anyway, Canadians have less likelihood for prejudices than the German people do, they are more accepting of what comes.

For Petra, a typical German is a hard–working, goal–oriented person, who can be insensitive because he might be too headstrong. She sees Germans as family–oriented, very sociable people who put an emphasis on proper etiquette.

For Petra, a typical Canadian is hard to define, but in contrast to Germans, "typical" Canadians are superficially much more friendly and have worse work–ethics, but they are more accepting of different people and less likely to be prejudiced.

G.: If you were to identify yourself in national terms, you are Canadian?
P.: Canadian, yes. But with German upbringing and that has a lot of play in my life. It has a lot of play in the way I celebrate Christmas. The way I think about work, and what I think about a lot of things. And that's why it's so hard to say all round Canadian is more relaxed and easy, because of all these different naionalities that they come from. And most Europeans will be more hardworking and more conscious about work. Just because I've got a cold, I don't go to work sort of thing.
G.: Did you ever experience any conflict about what would be German and Canadian in your personal life? Was it ever a problem for you, being German and Canadian at the same time?
P.: I don't think so, I think it was more of an amalgamation of the two. It's just lately that I've been wondering why would people skip out for a stupid flu while I would absolutely drag myself off to work. And yet, I can't do that, because of what's in me.
G.: With which parts of each culture do you identify in terms of food, or holidays, or relating to other people, the church, or
P.: I would say, literature I relate much more to the Canadian, because I read a lot more in English, by far more; I don't read very much in German. At Christmastime I'm all German, you know, those things are very dear to me, and the Christmas carols and it's all German for me. Music I would tend to be more the German, I prefer the classical over modern rock and pop. Work-ethics and that sort of thing I would say I'm more German. If you go to friendships, I would say I would be more German. I make a point to go out and try to be friendly to people and that's, I suppose, more Canadian. But it takes me a while to build a solid friendship, but once that friendship is there, it's there.

Petra identifies herself as a Canadian and takes great pride in it. But her German upbringing plays an important part in her life, too; influencing her attitudes towards work, Christmas celebrations etc.

Comparing the influence of Canadian and German culture on herself, Petra relates more to Canadian literature, but in Christmas celebrations, work-ethics, and personal relationships she would identify more with German attitudes.

Table 7: Language Experiences

Meaning Units	Summary Statements
P.: When I first started school I didn't know a word of English, and just started out straight into the English. G.: And you didn't have too many problems? P.: Well, I guess, I had. Mom says I had a little bit of a problem at first, but that wasn't because of the language, it was simply because I was young.	Petra spoke only German until she entered school but she doesn't recall any problems because of that.
G.: Are there any rules that you didn't like? P.:... We got frustrated with the German only at home rule sometimes, but it has paid off. G.: Yes, but at that time you were mad? P.: Sometimes it did frustrate us, yes. Why, why, why, do we have to speak German all the time? Sometimes it didn't make sense even though Dad did explain it to us.	Petra's father forced his children to speak only German at home, which frustrated Petra at times, but now she sees the value of it.
G.: You are fairly fluent in German, and you had to attend a Saturday school. Was that a language school? P.:Yes. It was not like your religious school or Sunday school, or learning Bible stories. Later on in the highest grade we hade a half an hour or twenty minutes of religious instruction, but that was only in the very top grades. It was basically a language school, learning to read and write. G.: Did you like it when you were there? P.: A lot of the times, no. We had a lot of fun and sometimes I enjoyed it. But most of the time it was Saturdays getting up in the morning, and I didn't want to go, because it meant another day at school, and it meant extra homework. And for that reason I guess, if for some reason a bilingual programme isn't available to our children, when we have children, I would rather send them to an evening school in German, than Saturday. Because then it's something extra like piano lessons or something like that, rather than taking their Saturday away from the kids.	Petra had to attend a German language school on Saturdays. She resented going there, not because of the language, but because it meant an additional day of school-work each week.
G.: Another more general question: what is your general opinion about bilingualism? In general, whatever, or English-French? P.: I think that it's super. You can't hurt by knowing another language, you can only add. It adds to your self as aperson, how you feel about yourself, how you relate to other people, it adds to your thinking dimension. It adds to your possibilities as to the future in work, in travel.	Petra can only see advantages of being bilingual. It contributes to one's feeling of self-worth, facilitates relationships to other people, expands one's thinking dimension and increases job opportunities.

It can't but help. And if I can't offer my children the German for some reason, if I can only do it at home; then they'll be sent to a French school somehow. Because I think that that second language is so valuable.
G.:Yeah. Do you have any personal experiences to describe how it has helped you?
P.: First of all, I got my job in the city, which I wouldn't have had very likely. I would not have a fulltime job if I wouldn't have had my German. Another thing, when I went to Europe and it was so much easier to travel knowing German. Even in Holland and Switzerland I was able to understand them if they spoke slowly. And the Swiss people I could understand quite easily anyway, even if they spoke at their own pace. Just in a matter of relating to older people, too. A lot of the older people I know have a really hard time with English or don't understand it, and it makes them feel so good and so special if somebody can communicate with them in the language that they know, especially if it's a younger person. And I've found that's been beneficial for myself, too. I've learned a lot from them.
G.: Is there anything else that you gained for yourself?
P.: I think in myself I feel a little more self-confident, because I have something extra. And I sometimes have a struggle with my own self-confidence and own worth anyways. It's the same thing as going to university, even if you never use it. Your thinking has been broadened and it has added to your self-worth even if you never use it. Go into a job for whatever you've studied for, or if you take a totally different job, it's still been worth it. And the same with learning a second language, it's the same type of thing. And relating to other people when they come in and don't know another language, trying to bridge that gap.
G.: Even if it's a language that you don't know?
P.: Just to be there and say, well, you've got something extra, something special, don't loose it. And to me it maybe gives a little more sense of empathy.

Petra obtained employment as a teacher in the city, because she was fluent in German.
Speaking German made her travels in Europe much easier.
It helps her establishing contact to older people who are not proficient in English.
Being bilingual contributed to Petra's feeling of self-confidence in a way comparable to higher education, as a value in itself. It broadened her mind.
It also helps her relating to people who only speak a foreign language, it makes her more empathic towards them.

Table 8: Parents' Adjustment

Meaning Units	Summary Statements
G.: What were your first impressions of Alberta when you came here? Do you remember? Mr. P.: (laughter) G.: In general, about the country and the people. Mr. P.: You, speak first. Mrs. P.: I? Mr. P.: Yes, please. Mrs. P.: I don't know whether you know what southern Alberta looks like. G.: No, I haven't been there yet. Mr. P.: Well, you came over here on the government. They got the trip free... Mrs. P.: No, Sir... Mr. P.: They got the train trip for free, because they signed up to work in the sugar-beets for two years.	
Mrs. P.: For two summers. Because it was for beets, we ended up in southern Alberta. And then we arrived there. The beet-work was very, very hard for us. We were not used to that from home. I come from the country, and I was used to hard work as a child. But in the meantime, seven years in Germany, I did not work outside. But this was beyond our strengths. We got up in the morning when it was still dark, and we came home at night when it was already dark. G.: And that in summertime. Mrs. P.: ... and that in the summertime, and in southern Alberta it is light for very long. Many mosquitos, they caused us a great deal of trouble. The severe heat in the fields. And then we did not know English, and we did not know where to buy or eat bread. What there was in the small stores, there in the country, that was only this toast-bread. We did not know it, neither did we know that it had to be toasted, so we had an upset stomach. We worked very hard, and of course we were disappointed. We earned only very, very little.	When Petra's mother came here, her first reaction was disappointment. The farm labour she had been contracted for was beyond her strength, and the payment was too low. Difficulties in adjusting to the unfamiliar everyday life, like different food, also contributed to her disappointment.
G.: Were you the only German family in that area? Mrs. P.: No, no, there were many. But the distance from one farm to another was so far in that area, that we had only very little contact to the others. G.: Did you work directly on one farm and live there as well? Mrs. P.: Yes, we had a small house. Actually, every farmer had a small house, the sugar-beet house they said, where the labourers lived. As a matter of fact, we had very nice accomodation, a big, nice house.	The family of Petra's mother lived on a farm isolated from other immigrants. Although their accomodation was nice, they were very disappointed and would have loved to return, but could not afford it financially. Also, Petra's mother was engaged to her later husband and would have stayed anyway.

– But we didn't earn very much. And then we were disappointed; and we would have loved to return, but we didn't have enough money...And also, I inteded to get married and would not have gone back, anyway. Disappointed really with everything; the streets were dirty, the stores were dirty; we could not find what we looking for, what we would have liked.

G.: And the people, the Canadians?

Mrs. P.: That depends. On the one hand we were quite surprised. the houses were all open. They were open for the reason: if a wanderer comes along, he can go to the fridge and help himself to some food; and then he leaves again. A farmer never locked his house. That was very surprising for us from Germany. That was nice, and some other things were nice.

Mr. P.: You didn't speak to Canadians at all?

Mrs. P.: No. Because,... we had the German church. Germans picked us up for church, and Germans took us home. And we were some of the later immigrants. Not too many arrived after us. That was 1954. We didn't have anything to do with the Canadians themselves, except for the farmer with whom we worked.

Q. (to Mr. P.): And what were your impressions when you arrived? Where did you come to?

Mr. P.: Directly to the city. We always attached ourselves immediately to the German communities. We had Little-Germany everywhere. Well, during the daytime I worked, like everyone else. One did any kind of work in1952, my brother had found me a job, and then I worked all winter. I had various jobs, all in construction. The major part of our lives was in the German churches. We did not miss Germany that much.

G.: Did you know the people beforehand, or did you find them here?

Mr. P.: No. What we said earlier on, our sect got a thing going where they brought many Germans over here, usually of the same faith. They came here, and they gathered here right away. About every town had a German speaking church community from our sect. And these Germans found each other immedeately, but they came from different parts of Germany. There was not such a big difference. Where we met they welcomed five to ten new people every Sunday, at that time. We went to the Young Peoples, at that time we had a Young Peoples group of 120 youths. All German. We had Little-Germany here. And because of that we did not experience such a shock.

G.: That is, it was not a big shock, you felt at home right away?

Mrs. P. was surprised about the hospitality of Canadians.

However, she had hardly any contact with them, since all her social life revolved around the weekly visit to the German church.

Mr. P. came to the city and became part of the German community immediately. Apart from the eight-hour work day, his total life took place within a German environment, mainly in his church community.

At the German church, Mr. P. met a vast number of German immigrants of his age. Because of these conditions he experienced neither shock nor disappointment upon immigrating.

Mr. P.: Yes, every night you were somehow together with Germans. And on the weekends.

G.: How important was religion, and how important was the social aspect of the whole thing?

Mr. P.: Very important. Our circles, she southern Alberta, we here; in our circles religion was the life-line (Lebensader). Because, there one lived. One had little to do with the Canadian system, except for the eight hours of work.

G.: What did you miss most when you came here?

Mr. P.: I didn't miss anything. No. I didn't even miss my parents. The German people here –, we lived a lot at German homes –, cooked German....No.

Q. (to Mrs. P.): Did you miss anything in particular that you can remember?

Mrs. P.: Well, I don't know if it is necessarily anything in particular, but Germany itself. Speaking German, maybe also the politeness. The people were simply strange for us. And because I was out in the country, all the time, I did not see Germans every week or every night. Only on Sunday mornings at church. To come to church at night or during the week. It was simply too far for that. We did not have an opportunity to get to church. And I missed that, yes.

Mr. P.: And in the winter-time all the girls of the family worked in households. When the beets were finished, the girls went into the households. Then they had to speak English and got amongst the Jewish women, and that

Mrs. P.: Because in the town, those people who could pay the girls were the rich Jews. Well, and they were not always particularly nice to us.

G.: Another issue: what did you find most difficult? Or, what was the most difficult thing to get used to, here in Canada? Were those habits, or how things were done? Did you have any problems in that respect?

Mrs. P.: I think, not too many, because somehow we still live the German way today.

Mr. P.: The school system seemed a bit strange. And working women. That's the same in Germany today. We were used to the post-war time, then it was different. The Germans got used to that very quickly; the women. They went to work, and it seemed strange to me.

G.: How good was your English when you came here?

Mrs. P.: I did not know any.

G.: Did you learn it in the family where you worked?

Mrs. P.: Yes, and night-classes in English.

Mr. P.'s religious beliefs were his life-line.

Mr. P. did not miss anything in Canada.

Mrs. P. did not miss anything in particular, but had more difficulties adjusting to the different ways of life in the new country, and suffered not being able to have more contact with Germans.

During the wintertime Mrs. P. had to work in Jewish households and encountered some unfriendliness there.

Mrs. P. did not find it too difficult to live in Canada in the long run, even nowadays maintaining her German way of life at home.
Mr. P. perceived the school system and working women as somewhat strange, but got used to that quickly.

Mrs. P. did not know any English before she came, she learnt it in night-courses.

Mr. P.: You went for two winters? Yes. – I learnt English still in Germany. Couldn't speak it properly then; but within four weeks one gets used to that.

G.: At that time, what did the people here think of the Germans, about the Germans?

Mr. P.: Not well. They did not think too well, because the Germans had more than everyone else the will to work hard. And, at that time, there were certain other things, unemployment and so, and then one heard often: The Germans come in and take the jobs. And also, the Canadians had small houses, and the Germans, before you knew it, they had new, bigger houses, etc.

G.: Did you personally have any experiences with prejudices against Germans? Also, in relationship to the war.

Mrs. P.: We actually didn't.

Mr. P.: No. Not with the war.

Mrs. P.: Our relatives mentioned sometimes that they had something to do with that.

Mr. P.: But they were here during the war. That was something different.

G.: They experienced that during the war?

Mrs. P.: Yes.

G.: You were not confronted with that after the war.

Mr. P.: No, nothing.

G.: Only, because you were possibly too industrious?

Mr. P.: Yes. Actually, they treated me very, very well. Somehow one did not get to feel that. No.

Mrs. P.: We were generally surprised how generous they are. Especially with the language. The immigrants came here, and everyone spoke differently, and these people had to cope with that. They were very willing to put up with it and to look for the words that might fit. They tried very hard to understand us.

G.: This is very interesting, because that is something I could not find out from the books.

Mr. P.: No, there was no hatred from the Canadians about the war things. Nothing. No, that you have to grant them.

G.: And did you yourself have any experiences with being too industrious or getting ahead too fast?

Mr. P.: No, we ourselves were not quite as rampant as perhaps most Germans. Yes, I did at my job, because one just worked better, and so on. There I experienced some things, but not, that that was in public.

Mrs. P.: But we never felt it in our neighbourhood. – On the contrary, off and on they even gave us compliments, when we were renting. They were surprised that the yard was clean, or that the staircase was clean.

Mr. P. spoke English before he came.

In the fifties, Mr. P. perceived that Albertans were somewhat suspicious of Germans, because the latter were too successful .

The P.s did not experience any prejudice or discrimination in relation to the second world war.

Mrs. P. was surprised of the generosity and open-mindedness of the Canadians toward the immigrants, of the Canadians' willingness to put up with them.

Mr. P. experienced some ill-feelings at his job because of his better work-ethics.

Table 9: Problems with Petra

Meaning Units	Summary Statements
G.: What kind of problems did you have with your children, or especially with Petra? Mr. P.: Problems? G.: Yes. None? Mr. P.: I don't think we had problems. G.: That's good. Mr.: With all four children, I can't say that we had things which we couldn't deal with. In Childhood.	At home, the P.s did not encounter any unusual problems with Petra.
G.: Can you remember, if Petra had any problems outside of home? Petra can't remember. Mr.: Yes, sure. She had learnt unconditional obedience and had suffered because of that with her school friends.	Outside of the home, Petra sometimes had difficulties in dealing with other people because she had learned unconditional obedience.
G.: How was that exactly? Can you give me any examples? Mr. P.: We brought her up, for example, not to fight, not this, not that. And because of that she often got the short end of the stick. G.: Can you remember any specific examples? Mrs. P.: In school, all the other children wanted to beat her up. How many were there, four? – Daddy went to the teacher twice, and then he mopped up. Mr. P.: That happened mainly because she wasn't allowed to brawl and fight. G.: You mean, she didn't fight back? Mr. P.: That's right. Mrs. P.: She was still very small, that was the first years in school, in Grade 3 or 4. There were a couple of bad boys who lived a block away, they stood there and wouldn't let the other children through. Mr. P.: There was lots; she had long braids. That's why she mainly had problems. Formerly I also had these problems. Because one shall not fight, because one shall not brawl.	For example, Petra was not allowed to fight or brawl and thus suffered when she was attacked, since she couldn't fight back.
Mrs. P.: And Petra had a few problems in school? Mr. P.: Yes, with the language. That was her biggest problem. G.: Perhaps you could talk a bit about that as Petra can't remember. Mr. P.: She couldn't speak English when she started school!	Petra's major problem in school was her inability to speak English when she entered Grade 1.
G.: She remembers that, but she doesn't remember having any problems with that. Mr. P.: Oh yes. The teacher wanted to put her back. To send her home for a year. She couldn't speak any English; at home there were three girls, the neighbour's boy was German, German was spoken everywhere. They didn't spend any time with English children.	The teacher wanted to put her back because of this.

G.: What did you do then?
Mr. P.: Nothing at all, she learnt English very quickly.
G.: Simply because she was there. A jump into the cold water, and off it went?
Mr. P.: Yes.
Mrs. P.: But she had a good teacher. She spent a lot of effort on her. She called me once, and said: I'll try it once more for three months with her, before I send her home. And in three months Petra learnt English.

Mr. and Mrs. P. did not take any action to alleviate this problem, rather they left it up to Petra to manage on her own to pick up the English.

However, Petra's teacher spent a lot of effort on her and succeeded in teaching her English during the first school-year.

Table 10: Child-Rearing Practices

Meaning Units	Summary Statements
(Mr. P. had left the room) G.: To another area: How did you bring up your children? What ideas were behind it? I asked Petra a similar question, but I also wanted to hear it from the parents. What was the most important thing in raising your children?	
Mrs. P.: I expected unconditional obedience. I am not exactly the strictest mother, who simply says, that has to be; but when I've said something then they have to obey. What mostly concerned us both, was simply that we said to ourselves: *We* can't bring up our children. Especially when they were a bit bigger, we said, it will only work with God's help. – And as you have heard all along, always in connection with the church, we've always raised our children with prayer. With the Bible in hand, and if they didn't want to obey, then they got to hear a devout Bible verse.	Mrs. P. brought her daughter up expecting unconditional obedience once she demanded something. The P.s had faith in God and trusted that he would help them raise their children. Petra was raised with prayer.
G.: You said, that you demanded obedience. It seems that your children were relatively obedient. How did you manage that? Do you know? A lot of parents want that, but never succeed?	
Mrs. P.: It depends. The decision was also different each time. When they were stubborn, then I was stubborn, too. I listened to their reasons, when they didn't want to do it, to check if I could see their reasons. And when I thought that they perhaps were a bit right, then I gave way, too. Above all, I always think, that when the children see that you love them, and when they see that the parents are not perfect either, then they accept that, and then they obey, too. I always thought that to apologize to a child doesn't hurt you any. I think that left a great impression on our children. I really said: Sorry, I did it wrongly, I hit you unnecessarily, or whatever it happened to be. But when I thought that they really should do what they were told, then they had to obey.	Mrs. P. attained the obedience of her children by listening to their arguments and trying to understand their side of the story as well. She showed them her love and was honest about her own shortcomings, not being afraid to apologize for her wrongdoings. However, once she demanded something the children had to obey.
G.: Yes, I've experienced that too.	
Mrs. P.: On the other hand, I think the children have it a lot easier in the family when one lives together, and shares joy and sorrow with each other. As small as they were, we showed them our negative side as well. ... They were cute...(laughter). Then they prayed by themselves for their mummy and daddy... Then they could really see our troubles, and we tried to see theirs.	Mrs. P. believes in sharing all joy and sorrow within the family, allowing everyone to understand the other.

G.: Another question: When you compare your children's behaviour to that of Canadian children, did you see any differences?
Mrs. P.: I think so, yes.
G.: Which differences did you see?
Mrs. P.: In most cases which I could observe, the children managed to get their way with defiance. And the parents gave in so that they didn't have to fight. "You don't hit a child." I thought sometimes that I don't have to stand for that as mother, the way the Canadian mothers stand for it, and then laugh about it as well. There was that difference.
(Mr. P. returns) G.: We were just talking about child-rearing practices. I had asked your wife what the most important thing was in the upbringing of your children. What were the guidelines or goals that you had? Perhaps you could explain that again for yourself.
Mr. P.: I don't know what she said
G.: Exactly... (laughter)... You don't have to agree with each other, normally parent's don't always agree with each other.
Mr. P.: Guidelines?
G.: Yes, or goals that you had.
Mr. P.: Number one: For me, the basis was that the mother will be at home as long as the children attend school. Number two: as you say in English, "out of conviction", we had a strong direction in the religious. Church, Sunday school. We did many things at home through which the children were imprinted, in this area. Did work with children, with juveniles, and so on. – And then, the other is in general, thriftiness, being industrious, and everything that goes with it.
G.: Why was it so important that the mother is at home? I mean, I think I know why, but I would like to hear it from you; why did you insist on it?
Mr. P.: Because the child needs a home, not just a place to stay. Actually, that is the reason. When the child comes home from school, it must be able to open the door and must exclaim: Mama! *That's home and not just a house.*
G.: I already asked your wife this question. Did you see any differences between your children and Canadian children?
Mr. P.: Very big differences.
G.: Which were the ones you noted mostly?
Mr. P.: Hmm
Mrs. P.: The thriftiness...
Mr. P.: In the area of obedience, thriftiness, the whole attitude. The other day we spoke to someone who was formerly in the Young Peoples here. We came here, and the German youths could never get along with the Canadian youths of the same parish, the same church. Because their thinking was

Comparing Canadian children to her own, Mrs. P. noticed that Canadian children very often got their way with defiance. She herself would not tolerate such behaviour.

For Mr. P., the most important aspect in raising his children was the presence and availability of their mother for them, at any time. Secondly, he emphasized the teaching of his religious beliefs and practices.
Important values which he wanted to transmit to his children were thriftiness, diligence, and related virtues.

Mr. P. found that the attitudes of the Canadian youth were quite different to those of his children. They were more easy going, freer, more phlegmatic.

different; more easy-going, freer, more phlegmatic. We were different then, and our children in their childhood reflected our thinking. When I spoke to this friend, I said: Do you remember how we used to look down upon the English youth? Yes. I said: Do you know that today's youth, our children – and my children are not included in this – , but that the children of the German people in general, today, they are the same as the English youth used to be, upon which we looked down. That is a different style. Times have changed.
Mr. P.: I think, today in Germany, they aren't any more what we used to be. The Germans in Germany today are as the Canadians were then. Yes.
Mrs. P.: Making high demands, spending money...
Mr. P.: Going out to eat in restaurants, and whatever.
Mrs. P.: And also, not caring much whether the other can or wants to come along: I'm going.
Mr. P.: Politeness of the children.
Mrs. P.: Yes, politeness, that bothered us a lot. Politeness of the children. The adults were polite.
G.: The next question was: what were you most strict about?
Mr. P.: About everything.
Mrs. P.: About everything? (laughter)
G.: Was there anything especially important to you?
Mr. P.: I was a very strict father, yes. What was I most strict about?
Mrs. P.: Homework.
Mr. P.: Yes, I don't know. In some areas there was no argument. I don't know what I was most strict about with Petra.
Mrs. P.: I think, about homework. When she came home from school and wanted to play outside for half an hour or ten minutes: "First come home and do your homework, then then you can play." Yes, after that, all the other children were gone.
Mr. P.: That's possible, yes.
Mrs. P.: Then they cried at times...
Mr. P.: Today we don't do that any more. The times are changing, they imprint the people, yes.
G.: You never spoke English at home? Not even to make it easier for your children at school?
Mr. P.: No. Maybe we should have done it.
G.: I don't know. Petra nevertheless learnt English very well.
Mr. P.: I still speak mostly German, except for those times when the son-in-law comes over.

Mrs. P. found Canadian children being inconsiderate of the needs of their peers. She was also bothered by the lack of politeness of the Canadian children.

Mr. P. was very strict about everything and did not tolerate arguments in certain matters.

Mrs. P. thinks that her husband was most strict about the homework rule, which said: "First come home and do your homework, then you can play." This rule was followed although the children cried because they were deprived of playing with other kids.

G.: What was the main reason for that? To speak German, or: not to speak any English at all?

Mr. P.: On the job I spoke only English , didn't have any problems with the English. – But when you come home you feel stupid when you want to speak English.

G.: Yes, I can understand that you spoke German together. But as far as I understood Petra, the children were not allowed to speak English, although you understood them.

Mr. P.: Yes, that is a different problem. Later, when the children went to school ...

Mrs. P.: ... then we wanted to retain the German.

Mr. P.: Yes, when the children go to the English school, the English prevails very fast. No matter whether it happens to the German, Ukranian or where it is. And because of that we spoke German at home. You don't have to be afraid that they can't keep up with the English. And in order to retain the German, that is why we did it.

G.: Did Petra encounter any prejudices against Germans? Do you know that.

Mr. P.: Against Germans? No. No.

G.: We were just speaking about your aspirations for your children's future, and you mentioned that you did not necessarily wish that your daughter attended university.

Mr. P.: I didn't object to it.

G.: Or, that she shouldn't have a job which she likes too much, which she doesn't want to quit. Was that the reason?

Mr. P.: Yes, that actually is the main reason. To study for four years, I thought, when you get married, in time you will have a family anyway. During those four years you could earn money, and I thought that you accomplish more until you quit working.

G.: Yes, but education until Grade 12 was important to have a good background?

Mr. P.: Oh yes. Grade 12 is normal here.

G.: And then, did you think of an apprenticeship?

Mr. P.: Oh, I really don't know.

G.: And how did you react when Petra said she wanted to attend university?

Mr. P.: Then I said: Go (laughter)

G.: That was all right.

Mr. P.: Sure, there were no objections.

G.: But it wasn't necessarily planned by you?

Mr. P.: I didn't necessarily plan what the children should do. I think, we mostly left it up to the children, what they wanted. But I didn't think it was necessary.

The S.s always spoke and still speak German at home, because it is their mother-tongue and they would feel stupid conversing in English.

The parents insisted that their daughters spoke German at home, in order to retain the language.

The S.s were not afraid that their children could not keep up with English, because English prevailed strongly outside the home.

Petra did not encounter any prejudices against Germans.

Mr. P. could not quite see the advantages of a university education for his daughter. He felt that the four years could be spent more profitably to build up some capital before a woman gets married and has children. Then she would have to quit her job anyway to stay home.

However, when Petra expressed the desire to attend university, he did not object, but left it up to her to build her future.

G.: But as far as I understand Petra correctly, you emphasized that the children should do well in school?
Mr. P.: Oh, yes. Yes.
G.: Because one does well in school, or why?
Mr. P.: They are better than the father was... Well, I don't know.
Mrs. P.: To be good, to be a good child, and to do well in school, there is a difference, isn't there? To have good marks, I mean.
G.: Yes, that's what I mean.
Mr. P.: Yes, yes. We emphasized that. We still do. I think the youngest one will follow the same path.
Mrs. P.: I thought, a good education is very necessary for our children. I would not have forced them or urged them permanently to go to university, but I thought it would be good for them. Even in one's social life, I thought, it will pay off to go university. With the other children, the young people of her age, to be on par with them, in our circle of friends.

To do well in school was a virtue in itself which Mr. P. emphasized quite strongly.

Mrs. P. felt that a university education was very desirable for her daughters, if only to increase their feeling of self-worth amongst their friends.

Description of Petra's Life-Experiences

The next step in the analysis of the data involves a summary of the essential issues for each topic as outlined in Tables 2 to 10. This is done through combining Petra's answers with those of her parents. When daughter and parents contradicted each other this is mentioned explicitly, whereas agreements are summarized in a single statement.

Family

Petra grew up in a very religious family. She was brought up to respect her parents, and she obeyed them for fear of hurting them. Her father made the final decisions in the family, but they were subject to discussion. He was very strict; but Petra could accept that since he was willing to listen to her arguments, too. However, in some cases he did not tolerate any arguments. Examples for rules which Petra had to follow were a strict curfew, to do her homework before she went out to play, and to speak only German at home. Although Petra was not always happy about these rules, she complied.

Petra's mother attained the obedience of her children by listening to their arguments and trying to understand their side of the story. She showed them her love, was honest about her own shortcomings, and was not afraid to apologize for her wrongdoings. However, once she demanded something, the children had to obey.

Petra's parents took an active interest in her school-work and supported her as best as they could. They wanted her to do well in school, but did not push her beyond her limits, rather they accepted her for what she did. Especially her mother emphasized the value of a post-secondary education; if for nothing else than an increased feeling of self-worth. Her father did not see the advantages of a university education for a woman, but did not object when Petra decided to attend university. His statement about this during the interview came as a surprise to Petra.

Economically, the P.-family started out with very little, but has achieved a comfortable life now. Despite their earlier financial difficulties, the parents made a point of going on a family vacation every year, to spend time together as a family. The importance of a close family was emphasized very much by both of Petra's parents. Her mother believes that sharing all joy and sorrow within the family will lead to an understanding of each other, parents and children. For Petra's father it was extremely important that the mother was available for her children at any time. Both parents demanded unconditional obedience and stressed values like thriftiness, diligence and politeness. They were somewhat concerned about the more easy-going and phlegmatic attitude of Canadian children, perceiving them as more inconsiderate and impolite.

Petra was taught not to fight or brawl, which caused her some problems when she was teased by other children, because she could not defend herself.

Petra's family provides a strong emotional support system, although she now strives to be independent in financial matters.

Religion

Petra is a very religious person who committed herself to a Christian way of life in her youth. Since then her belief has become a very central part in her life.

Her parents are also very faithful and strongly emphasized the teaching of their religious beliefs and practices in the upbringing of their children. They raised their children with prayer, trusting that God would help them in this task. Much of their social life revolved around the German church; religion was their life-line; and the church community the place where they lived and met their friends.

Most of Petra's social activities were and are also centered around her church community. She enjoyed being together with that group of young people and still has contact with them. Most of them were also German immigrant children from a similar background.

Because of her religious beliefs Petra did not participate in certain social activities of her schoolmates, such as school dances.

The writings of the bible are the ultimate authority for Petra, overriding all other authorities to whom she usually pays considerable respect.

The most important consideration in Petra's choice of a spouse was his Christian faith. Similarly, in raising her children she would emphasize teaching them the love of God.

Occupation

Petra enjoys her occupation as a kindergarten teacher, especially the direct work with the children in the classroom. This is the most rewarding aspect of her job, and the reason why she is not interested in advancing into an administrative position.

She became a teacher because she really wanted to be one, making the decision against the advice of other people who warned her of potential unemployment and encouraged her to go into a more prestigious profession, especially since she had the intellectual abilities to do so.

School Experiences

Petra recalls school as a very positive experience. She adored most of her teachers, remembering them as being very supportive and sensitive to her needs. When she started school, she did not speak any English, but doesn't think that this caused her any problems. During her first year she had some difficulty with reading, but she attributes this to her playfulness rather than to language problems. Her parents, however, report that her inability to speak English constituted a major problem, which might have resulted in her being put back for a year, had not her teacher spent a lot of effort in teaching her English.

Petra's Grade 3 teacher was also very attentive towards her, and taught her not to use her German as an excuse for not learning well enough, at the same time emphasizing the value of knowing another language.

The only troubles Petra can remember were related to teasings by classmates because of her long braided hair.

Petra did very well in school from Grade 3 onwards, she was an honours student throughout high school, always being supported in her school-work by her parents. Her favourite subjects were Math and Home Ec, whereas she did not care too much for Social Studies, because it involved a lot of essay writing, which she did not like.

When her family moved between cities before she entered Grade 9, she experienced the change to the new school as a significant event. But she made close girlfriends soon, most of them being from ethnic origins other than British or Anglo-Canadian. With these girls she shared a number of values; amongst them an emphasis on hard work to do well in school and an interest in home economics as well as an objection to smoking, drinking, and similar pastimes popular amongst the other students.

Except for a Christian Fellowship Club Petra was not involved in extracurricular activities.

Ethnic and National Identification

Petra identifies herself as a Canadian and takes great pride in it. But her German upbringing and heritage plays an important positive part in her life as well.

For Petra, German culture is represented by old folk songs, an ethnic dress, Christmas and Advent traditions, as well as by the language. She regards these traditions as family rather than nationalistic attachments.

Petra sees Germans as family-oriented, very sociable people who put an emphasis on proper etiquette. They are hard-working, goal-oriented persons who can be insensitive at times, because they might be too headstrong.

In contrast, a typical Canadian would be superficially much more friendly, and his work ethics would not be as good; but he is more accepting of different people and less likely to be prejudiced.

Comparing the influence of Canadian and German culture on herself, Petra relates more to Canadian literature, but identifies with the German attitudes when it comes to work ethics, personal relationships, and Christmas celebrations.

Petra never experienced any prejudice or discrimination on the grounds of her ethnic origin. Her acquaintances in school knew that she came from a German family, but never held it against her. Therefore her background never posed any problems for her, rather it gave her pride of having something "extra".

Language Experience

The language spoken in Petra's family is German. During her childhood and youth it was exclusively German, and so she did not know any English upon entering school. Her parents report that this caused quite a problem, but Petra does not have any memories of it.

The prime reason why the P.'s spoke German at home was simply that it was their mother tongue, and that they would have felt stupid conversing in English. Later on, when the children were attending school, the parents insisted that German was the only language spoken at home, in order to retain it; because English was taking over rapidly in the other areas of life. Petra also had to attend a German Saturday school. She was at times frustrated with the German-only rule at home and resented going to the school, mainly because it meant an additional day of school each week, depriving her of her "free" Saturday. Looking back, however, she sees the value of becoming proficient in a second language and does not regret going through this.

Petra can see only advantages to being bilingual, regarding it as a contribution to one's feeling of self-worth, facilitating relationships with other people, expanding one's thinking dimension and increasing job opportunities. She experienced these advantages personally by obtaining a job as a teacher in Edmonton and through her travels in Europe, which were much easier and more rewarding. Being bilingual helps her to establish relationships with older people who are not fluent in English, and it also helps her to relate to other people who speak only a foreign language, because she feels more empathy towards them. Her feeling of self-confidence was enhanced because her second language gave her something extra, comparable to higher education as a value in itself; at the same time broadening her mind.

Parents' Adjustment

Petra's father adjusted very quickly to the new environment in Canada, not missing anything in his homeland. He explains this by the conditions he found in Alberta: there was a large German community in the city with which he associated himself immediately. Thus he was able to lead a more or less familiar everyday life, apart from the eight hours of work. He experienced neither shock nor disappointment after his arrival, and adjusted quickly to the few things that seemed peculiar to him, e.g. the school system and working women.

Petra's mother on the other hand was very disappointed when she came here. She had to do extremely hard work for minimum pay; her family was isolated on a farm in southern Alberta and did not have the aid and support of other German immigrants in familiarizing themselves with the peculiarities of everyday life in Alberta. She stayed because she could not afford a return ticket and because she was engaged to her future husband. She missed having frequent contact with Germans and being in a familiar surrounding.

Despite these hardships Mrs. P. noticed an openness and hospitality on the part of Canadians which suprised her. She was impressed with their willingness to put up with all the different immigrants and the latter's difficulties with the English language and

Canadian customs.

Mr. and Mrs. P. hardly ever encountered any prejudice against Germans. Mrs. P. experienced some ill-feelings when she worked in Jewish households during the winter-time. Mr. P. mentions that Albertans were suspicious of the German immigrants' success in business matters and that he experienced some minor problems at his job because of his better work ethics, but it was nothing of importance. They never encountered any hatred or discrimination related to the second world war.

Summary and Analysis

The following analysis is a case immanent interpretation highlighting those aspects of Petra's development and her family's evolution which are regarded as important for an understanding of their acculturation process.

Petra could not answer the question what it meant for her to grow up as an immigrant child directly, because until fairly recently she had not been aware that she falls into this category of persons. She knew that her family was different from those of her school-friends in that they spoke German at home, but she did not associate that with a set of ethnic or national characterisitics. It was perceived more as an idiosyncracy of her family, which, however, was not unusual since most of the family's social contacts centered around their church, which basically consisted of German immigrants who knew German even if they didn't stress its useage. Most of the family customs were church related, and although they stem from German traditions, the emphasis lay on the religious and not the nationalistic aspect.

Petra made most of her important experiences in connection with the church and the belief system underlying her interpretation of the world is her Christian faith. Only in recent years, when a general increase of ethnic awareness took place in this country, did she start to emphasize her ethnic origin. For Petra, her German background and her ability to speak German has an almost exclusively positive connotation. She regards it as something extra that other people do not have, often putting her at an advantage over them. This one-sided positive evaluation of her ethnicity can be explained by a lack of negative experiences, a very supportive family and a generally favourable public attitude towards (European) ethnic diversity in Alberta. The reason why she was not exposed to any prejudice lies in her very selective social contacts, namely other German immigrant children, and in the fact that as a girl, she might have been less of a target for name callings in the school environment than a boy.

The cultural transition of the P.-family is occurring simultaneously with the changes that their religious community is undergoing. Mr. and Mrs. P. call their religious beliefs their life line, and leading a life in adherence to these is of utmost importance for them. The P.s made their church the centre of their life, and they also were very adamant about retaining German culture in their home and social life.

The family-life was emphasized very strongly in Petra's home. Her close-knit family gave her the emotional support she needed to face the problems outside, e.g. in school or with peers. Although her parents were not able to provide her much financial or academic help, they created an environment that allowed her to succeed in school and build up confidence in herself.

Petra had to work hard to obtain good grades in school, and her perseverance in her studies can be related to the attitude towards work prevailing in Petra's family. Petra regards the good work ethics, which might be captured in the phrases: "If a job is worth doing, it's worth doing well." and "First the work and then the pleasure.", as German characteristics which set her apart from Anglo-Canadians.

The P. children were required to speak only German at home, and the parents made no conscious effort to acquaint them with Canadian culture, but more or less left this up to the school, where Petra was fortunate to have teachers sensitive to her needs. However, the parents, especially Mrs. P., did have ambitions for their daughters to progress in Canadian society and were concerned about their emotional well-being, buffering potential problems of culture conflict by fully accepting their children the way they were.

It seems that conflicts between the two cultures arose first within the church community, before they could become a problem within the family, when the second generation turned out to be much more Canadian and English speaking than their parents. Faced with the choice of either keeping German language and culture in the church and losing a large part of the young followers, or maintaining the belief system over generations but giving up the German language and parts of German culture, Mr. P. realized that his ideal of "Little Germany" in Canada was not practicable anymore and he went with the times and gave up parts of his culture in favour of retaining the religion. This shift in the context of the P.–family had its impact on the relationships within the family as well, creating an opening for Canadian influences, while German traditions are still retained as special family activities. Through these processes Petra, being the oldest child, has developed into a well integrated Albertan who is also very familiar with German culture and keeps up some of its traditions within her church community and home, associating them mainly with her family and religion, and so they do not interfere with her professional life.

C. Birgit

Introduction

Birgit and I met and became acquainted during a French immersion course. When I called her a year later and asked her to participate in my study she agreed and obtained her parents' consent. At the time of the interview Birgit was living with her parents temporarily, and I went to the B.'s house on two separate occasions to talk to Birgit and then to her parents. I spoke to Birgit in English, whereas her parents preferred German although they said that they usually speak English at home. Mrs. B. clearly dominated the conversation, but her husband was attentive and showed his agreement through gestures and spoke when his opinion differed from his wife's.

History

Mrs. B. was born in 1930 in a city in Silesia as the oldest of four daughters. At the end of the war her family had to flee and spent half a year in Czechoslovakia. From there they were expelled to East Germany, where the family was split up because it was too large to be accommodated in the same dwelling. At the age of 15 Mrs. B. went to live and work with another family while her mother and sisters went to West Germany. Her father was a prisoner of war in the Soviet Union and returned in 1949. When he became very ill in 1951 Mrs. B. was allowed to join her family. There she started her career education and became a registered nurse and midwife. As soon as she received her papers she applied for immigration to Canada and arrived there in 1954, on her own.

Mrs. B. left Germany because it depressed her to always be regarded as the refugee, who never had anything. She felt exiled in her own country and preferred to be a stranger in another country. As she was young and without dependants she had nothing to lose. She came to Canada because Australia, the other possibility, was too far and it was too expensive to return if one did not like it.

Mr. B. was born in 1928 in a town in southern Germany and lived there until he emigrated in 1953. He was too young to be drafted into the army during the war. He was trained as a mechanic and applied for immigration after obtaining his journeyman papers. Although he had a good job he did not see a future for himself in Germany and wanted to try elsewhere. Canada was recruiting immigrants at that time and he went with a friend "to see what was happening over there."

Mr. and Mrs. B. met in Alberta and were married in 1956. Birgit is their only child, she was born in 1957.

Parents' Adjustment

When coming to Canada Mrs. B. signed a contract to work as a nurse's aide for 18 months in a tuberculosis hospital in northern Canada to pay for her fare. Subsequently, she found employment in a town in Alberta. Mrs. B. did not speak any English when she arrived, but that did not cause any problems since most of her patients were Native people who did not speak the language either. She then learned English from a book with a lot of support from Canadians. The people were very friendly and helpful and this more than made up for the cold winters which Mrs. B. did not care for. She did not miss anything and was too busy learning English to have time to worry.

Following the advice of an immigration officer Mr. B. came directly to Alberta and immediately found a job in his trade. He spoke hardly any English but was lucky to have a fellow worker who could translate for him when necessary. Mr. B. learned English on his job and also took night classes. Before he immigrated Mr. B. had thought that with his specialized training he would be far ahead of Canadians, but he found that this was true only in regard to quality and not in terms of speed or universality. He was impressed with Canadians and had to admit that "they weren't as dumb as they looked". Initially Mr. B. only wanted to earn enough money to buy a new motorcycle and then return to Germany. He bought the bike after six months, but decided to stay because there was a lot to see and the opportunities were better than in Germany. He also treasured the freedom and lack of bureaucracy he found in Canada. On the other hand there was a lack of recreational possibilities as well: "no soccer, no cinemas, just nothing." Mr. B. missed the Sundays in Germany when he used to go out with friends and do something, "sports or whatever". As a single person it was just hopeless in Alberta, and therefore most people got married as soon as possible so that they could undertake something with their spouse. Being married also meant being able to prepare your own food.

After the B.s were married they were only bothered by the cold winters. Once when they had had enough of the weather they packed up and went to Mexico with the intention of settling. However, they found it impossible to stay there and really appreciated Canada after being away for three months.

The B.s are Canadian citizens and have never regretted their decision to settle in Alberta. They went back to Germany on their honeymoon thinking it would be better to raise a family there since all their relatives were in Germany. However, they did not like it and returned to Canada. Financially the B.s have been fairly well off in Canada, both Mr. and Mrs. B. have always worked and they were soon able to buy a house. They never encountered any bad feelings from Canadians, only from Dutch immigrants who had lived through the war in Europe. The B.s never advertised their Germanness, because they often worked with people who had fought against Germany during the war. They feel that people with the attitude: "I am German, here I come." deserve the hatred they have encountered.

Although Mr. and Mrs. B. are officially Canadians and feel at home in Alberta, the German is still in them and comes out at times. For example they cheer more for German than for Canadian teams when watching international sporting events. When they go out to eat they visit a German restaurant, and they only have German (classical) records at home. They still celebrate holidays the German way and eat German meals. Mr. and Mrs. B. do not belong to any German clubs but attend some of their functions. The B.s are fairly solitary and the few friends they have are all German.

Mrs. B. thinks she has mellowed with age, because on a recent visit to Germany she saw many good things she had never noticed before. However, she and her husband do not think they could live there anymore because they have been away for too long and have adopted Canadian habits which they would not want to give up.

Self-Description

Birgit is a teacher at a French immersion school specializing in early childhood education. She is single and at this point not sure whether she will have a family of her own or not.

Birgit is very ambitious and works hard to be at the top. She is career-oriented and finds that her happiness depends on her job-satisfaction. For the time being teaching is still challenging and gratifying, though she is not sure whether she would like to do it for the rest of her life. Birgit frequently sets out to do things she is scared of in order to prove to herself that she can do it. For example she went to Europe all by herself when she was 19, and she participated in a beauty contest for the experience of getting up in front of people to talk and to present herself.

Birgit is interested and skillful in a variety of areas; in arts, crafts, and sports. She is informed about politics and social issues. Over the last few years she has travelled extensively in Europe and Canada, aquiring a cosmopolitan outlook on the world. Other than being happy doing whatever she is doing, her only set goal is to experience Europe. Its faster pace, the exciting business opportunities, as well as the cultural activities appeal to her. She would like to live in France and Germany for three years to get the feeling of what it is really like over there. If she ever did get married, it would be to a man who shows respect and consideration for her, and who has a job that would allow her to maintain her present life style. It would appeal to her to find someone from a European background, possibly French, who has travelled as well.

Looking back on her life, Birgit feels that it was only after high school that she began to learn how to live. When asked what it meant to grow up as an immigrant child she replied that from the very beginning it made her feel different from the rest, and for a child being different was something wrong or negative. She basically recognized that she was different because she and her parents spoke a "funny language", and because Canadians found her table manners rather unusual. After her first experiences of this kind she rejected everything that was related to being German and did not change her attitude until she visited Europe when she was 19.

Birgit is not religious in terms of church affiliation, but thinks she has to believe in something and have some morals. Her golden rule is to be respectful to other people.

Birgit thinks she pays too much respect to authorities in that she says what they want to hear even if she does not believe in it. On the other hand she usually does it her own way:

> Birgit: "It is not a head-on. I work my way around quietly, and perhaps I will succeed with it. I never come out and say: Oh, you are wrong."
> Gisela: "Would you say this is a result of your education?"
> Birgit: "Yes. Very much of what happened at home. Yes."

Travelling

Travelling produced a major change in Birgit's life. She changed from a shy, reserved and dependent girl into a more outgoing and independent woman. Her first trip on her own was especially significant in this respect.

> "Travelling has really changed me. I was really shy and reserved when I got out of high school and right through school. And I also had a boyfriend I had been going out with for four years and I was really dependent on him. I learned and had done a lot with him, but I felt that I really had to get out of that relationship. So there was a point when I said that I have to do something to get out on my own and do something for myself, and I went to Europe for four months, all by myself. At the time I was doing it because I had to do it. I felt that I had to get out of the real rut I had gotten in. I can remember the month before I was going out of town. People were asking me about the trip and I would explain it to them. And deep down, or actually not so deep down, I was thinking I wish I didn't have to do this, I would gladly give you my ticket. You sound so excited, why don't you go. I don't want to go some place strange and I am perfectly happy here. But I told myself, no, I really have to do this to prove to myself that I can do it.
>
> I took off for four months, going to see all the relatives that I had never met before. Strange language, strange country, everything. I took a camping tour all by myself. We were with a group of people, but I joined it on my own, so it was for nine weeks first of all. I can remember the first two weeks there I was just counting the days, I wanted to get back home. It was a big step for me. At the beginning I wasn't enjoying it, and then all of a sudden I let loose, and found out that by talking with other people, I saw there was nothing wrong with it. I had always been really really reserved and shy and I really changed, opened my perspectives, was a lot more open. I learned a lot and became a lot more independent for myself, not depending on other people for *my* happiness. That was when my self-confidence got good too. So after having come back from Europe my whole attitude to everything had changed. I was able to break off with this boyfriend , still feeling good about it. The feeling that I could handle it. It may not sound like much, but for me it was a really big step."

Birgit's reason for going to Europe and not somewhere else was "to find out what really was all over there. Having heard about my relatives and everything, I really wanted to see it." The visit opened her eyes and she came to understand her parents much better after realizing that "there is a whole race of people acting like this all along." The pieces of a big puzzle came together, and Birgit has been really proud of her German heritage since then.

Family

Birgit's family is very close, the three of them did almost everything together. They took a family vacation every summer, and at home they used to sit around the dinner table and talk about the events of the day. Mr. and Mrs. B. took their daughter along wherever they went, they never had a baby-sitter. When Birigt was small Mrs. B. worked only nights, so that there always was one parent at home.

Birgit thinks that her mother was almost too involved in what she was doing. Mrs. B. knew about all her courses in high school and was better informed about the university programme than Birgit herself.

> "Well, she claims it was her duty as a mother, she is there to help. But at the time: when mum says something, well, you do it. If mum suggests you should be an accountant, that means she wants you to do it. And if you want to please her, you have to do it. It was really hard for me to say: Well, this isn't what I want to do. At times it hurts my mum's feelings and it is hard for her to realize that I want to do what I want to do. She is so used to saying her opinion, and I take it as being: that's what you want me to do. Whereas she thinks: well, it's just a suggestion, that's how I feel, why can't I give you my opinion."

Birgit always got along well with her parents and did not have any problems until she decided to move out, about a year ago. Her mother started behaving strangely, and their relationship was strained for some time. Birgit has moved back temporarily, but will leave again shortly. She has arguments with her mother about this, who cannot fully understand her daughter's wish, especially since it is so easy for her at home. She has free room and board and all the freedom she wants. But Birgit is looking forward to having her own place where she can leave her bed undone as long as she pleases.

Birgit does not think that her parents were very strict, but qualifies this statement by pointing out that she was a very obedient child. The only thing her mother was really strict about were table manners. Birgit was not allowed to change them even after she encountered problems with them in Canadian families who thought she was playing with her food when eating with knife and fork. Mrs. B. is also an extremely tidy person and Birgit never met her expectations. She took it as a fact of life and did not worry too much about it. After some fights over cleanliness, both mother and daughter now accept that the other person is different. Mrs. B. makes most of the decisions in the family, but Mr. B. has a veto power, and Birgit could always make her opinion known as well. Mr. B. only established rules when Birgit started driving his car.

Emotions are not shown in a physical manner in Birgit's family, they express their feelings more in words. Birgit's father is very reserved, especially with strangers, but at home he is open and willing to talk. Until about grade 2 Birgit was punished by spanking from both of her parents. Later on she obeyed her parents out of a desire to please them.

Mrs. B.'s major concern in the upbringing of her daughter was that she could fit in as a Canadian but would nevertheless not lose the German. The B.s think they were stricter than Canadian parents. Especially since Birgit was a single child they made sure that they did not spoil her. Birgit always had to do her homework before she did anything else, and it had to be done neatly. She had to go to bed early and was not allowed to watch television during the week. The parents placed a very high value on obedience, but did not have to punish their daughter very much. Mrs. B. usually spoke to Birgit as an adult, for example she would say:

> "Your work comes first. You have to be good at school to become something later on. You need a career, so do your work first and then play. Work comes first. You will be all by yourself in Canada. You need a career to fall back on. Once we are gone you won't have anybody here."

Mrs. B. found the Canadians' lack of cleanliness repulsive and insisted that Birgit always washed her hands and polished her shoes. However, Birgit still does not polish her shoes and Mrs. B. is also ashamed of her daughter's slightly improper table manners and considers herself a failure as a mother in this respect. It hurts her. The only other thing that bothered Mrs. B. was that Birgit was so quiet and withdrawn.

Birgit never got into any difficulties, but Mrs. B. thinks she perhaps had a few problems outside the home, for example for a time she was the only one who did not have a boyfriend. Mrs. B. discussed sex and boys very openly with her daughter.

For Mr. and Mrs. B. education is of prime importance for a person. Mrs. B. put more money into Birgit's education than most parents, but this was the only area where she was generous with money. Apart from that Birgit only got what was absolutely necessary and had to earn her own money for things like a car.

Birgit spent much of her spare time doing crafts and sports, and she would have liked to have been even more active. But her parents would not let her, because school came first, and they were also afraid she would get too many things started and not do all of them really well. Mr. B. insisted that "either you do something good or not at all."

Birgit could always bring her friends home, but she usually only had a few at a time. Her best friend was the neighbour's girl until Junior High, they played a lot together. Her next long-term friendship was with her boyfriend, and it was a really good experience for her to get to know his family.

> "All of a sudden having a family with grandparents and everything, and uncles and aunts. He was from quite a big family, a close family, and that was something I had never had before. I missed having a big family with lots of relatives, especially on occasions like Christmas when everyone visits their families."

During high school Birgit belonged to a church group which she had joined because of her boyfriend. They did a lot of interesting things, but she did not really enjoy it, and she was not the church type either.

Birgit still relies a lot on her parents, "morally and just for doing things", and they certainly make it easy on her financially. Her parents would not be very pleased if she moved away, to Europe or elsewhere in Canada, and her parents' feelings will play a major part in Birgit's decision about living overseas.

School and Occupation

Birgit did not do very well in elementary school. She now thinks that she was probably immature and should have been held back for a year. As a child she had the self-image of being dumb. This changed in grade 7, when she was surprised to receive academic awards and realized that she too was capable of achievement. From then on she put all her concentration into schoolwork, being a top student for the rest of her school years. She was a "teacher's pet", always trying to please them and in turn feeling good about herself. Birgit had no problems with her classmates, but she was very shy and it bothered her that she was not really one of the crowd. In high school she belonged to "the studious and goodie-goodies".

Birgit's parents were very involved with her schoolwork and saw to it that she studied hard and produced neat and nice homework. Mrs. B. did not have to help her daughter with her homework, she only checked it. Birgit did her homework immediately after coming home from school. She never went outside to play with the other children, even when her mother urged her to. Mrs. B. thinks her daughter at times overdid her studying in her effort to be at the top and give her best. However, this was what the parents had taught her, they always said: "You must, it will pay off."

After high school Birgit worked for a year as a secretary because she was not sure what she wanted to do. She found out that *that* was not the kind of career she liked and decided to become a teacher. Her parents had always emphasized that she should have a career, but Mrs. B. was very much against Birgit's choice of becoming a teacher because of her shyness. Mrs. B. thought her daughter would make a good accountant or perhaps a nurse. But Birgit insisted and obtained her degree in education, although she went through really hard times when she was student-teaching. Now she enjoys her job and her mother is very proud of her as well.

Language

When Birgit was small her parents spoke German at home and wanted her to learn it as well. However, she refused to speak it from an early age on, and Mr. B. decided that this was acceptable. He had observed two other parents who insisted that their child spoke German and whose son then developed a serious stuttering problem. For Mr. B. that was a price too high to pay. Mrs. B. also gave in, although she really would have liked Birgit to learn German. She is still very hurt and will always regret that Birgit does not speak the language.

Mrs. B. tried to send Birgit to a German Saturday school, but it was very difficult to get there and Birgit refused to go anyway. Birgit remembers that she did not want to attend the school because she thought her German was not good enough and because she did not know any of the other children.

Mr. and Mrs. B. were very concerned that their daughter should learn more than one language, since they themselves experienced the advantages of bilingualism and wanted to provide her the same with opportunity. Since Birgit refused to speak German, they supported her in her desire to learn French. Birgit is fluent in French now, and she also reads and understands German without difficulty, but when she speaks it she has problems with the grammar. Today she regrets that she is not fluent in German and she would like to perfect this language by immersing herself for a few years in German culture.

Birgit thinks bilingualism is "the best thing", offering the following advantages to a person: better job opportunities and a different perspective while travelling in that one can acquire a new perspective of the culture through the language which leads to an appreciation of a different culture instead of being negative about it out of ignorance.

Ethnic Identification

From early childhood on Birgit was aware that she was different from her friends because of her German background. She felt somehow apart from her friends all through school, because all of them came from families that had been Canadian for many generations and had large families here. At times she was embarrassed when her friends noticed her parents' accents.

Birgit never encountered any prejudice or problems with other people because of her background, but inflicted all the guilt about Nazi German terror on herself when she learned about it in grade 6. For a long time she kept this to herself, but then talked seriously to her parents when she was in high school. Finding out about their experiences opened her eyes and she was able to understand both sides.

Mrs. B. does not know whether her daughter ever encountered any prejudice against Germans. She assumes that Birgit would never have told her parents in order not to hurt them. However, Mrs. B. remembers that Birgit was physically sick when they took her to Germany at age 11, because she was terrified of the Germans. She had heard so many horror stories about the Nazis and also could not understand the southern German dialect.

Birgit now considers herself a Canadian with a European side to her, that is a Canadian with a very open mind. She recently obtained dual citizenship, and her decision to be a German as well was not taken because of possible job advantages, but because she now takes pride in her German heritage. Before her trip to Europe, German culture for Birgit meant doing things differently without knowing why. When she was in Germany the things her parents did started making sense to her. Birgit has not turned into a German, "but I can understand why they do it. And to me that is part of my culture, the history and that I can understand why they do it."

Birgit thinks Germans are more boisterous than Canadians, they are happy while they drink, laugh, and joke together. European culture for her is drinking wine with your meal, taking pride in your food, and preparing it very carefully. Birgit also thinks Europeans show much more taste in their clothing than Canadians.

Birgit would probably like to live in Canada permanently, but she would also like to try living in Europe for a few years and possibly stay there if the conditions are right. She noticed a lot of discontent amongst the young people in Europe and feels she might prefer the more easy-going Canadian life style on a long-term basis.

Summary and Analysis

In the B.-family the emphasis was on having a good and successful life in Canada, especially for Birgit. Since there is a very strong tie between mother and daughter, Birgit's development can almost be regarded as the delayed fullfillment of her mother's ambitions for herself which, due to circumstances, she could not achieve in her own youth in her home country.

Mrs. B. aimed at making a successful career woman out of her daughter, who would be sophisticated enough to meet German, and not Canadian standards. Mr. and Mrs. B. were happy to find a home in Canada, but they did not try to become Canadian inside, rather they regarded Canada as a place where they could live a "German" life without being disturbed. This attitude is reflected in Mrs. B.'s goals for Birgit's upbringing: she wanted her to fit in with Canadians, but she did not want her to be one of them, and tried hard to model Birgit after her (German) ideas of a successful woman.

This created conflict for Birgit, as her social environment outside the family was totally Canadian. Birgit was always painfully aware of the fact that her parents came from another country and that she as an immigrant child was different from the other children because her family did things differently. Mrs. B. did not permit her to adopt Canadian manners of eating or dressing, since Mrs. B. wanted to raise a child whom she could proudly present to her relatives in Germany. Birgit was very sensitive about being different from other children and in her desire to be like everyone else, she rejected and resented everything associated with a German background. At home she successfully avoided having to speak German through the intervention of her father, but she could not assert herself against her mother, at least as far as table manners were concerned. Birgit suffered quietly and was embarrassed by her parents as she had no idea why they acted the way they did. Rejecting everything German must have created a serious conflict for Birgit in her relationship with her parents, because she loved and respected them, but at the same time resented an essential part of them, their German background. Birgit never talked to her parents about this. She was a withdrawn and very obedient child who tried to please her parents as much as possible. They in turn focused their total attention on their daughter and were extremely supportive of her. Brigit's strong desire to please her parents could have stemmed from a feeling of guilt for not loving them totally, whereas they did everything for her. She intended to protect them from harm when she refrained for a long time from talking to them about the Nazi era and the bad feelings the history lessons had evoked in her. Rather she bore the pain of guilt herself. Birgit was a very diligent student because her mother had taught her that she would need good marks in school to be successful later on in life. Birgit would have liked to have been one of the crowd in school, but was too shy and too absorbed in her studies for that.

Birgit fought hard to be a Canadian, i. e. like everyone else, and was accepted by her peers and especially her boyfriend's family, although she still felt different from them. When she met her boyfriend she experienced for the first time what it was like to have an extended family as all the other children had, and this aspect might have contributed to the intensity and durability of this friendship. She was accepted by her boyfriend's family as one of their children and suddenly enjoyed having siblings, grandparents, uncles, and cousins close by. Breaking up with her boyfriend also meant losing a family and that made the decision especially difficult for her.

Birgit went to Germany to meet her relatives and to get away from her boyfriend for a while. During the trip she discovered that compared to Germans her parents were perfectly "normal", and their behaviour started making sense to her. This enlightenment about why her parents acted the way they did completely changed Birgit's attitude towards them and their culture. She could now fully accept them for what they were and no longer needed to please them at the cost of denying her own interests. Birgit started living for herself and was able to assert herself against her mother in such crucial issues as her career choice and leaving home. Accepting and taking pride in the German background of her parents enabled Birgit to separate from her boyfriend in an amicable way as she had regained her own family. Birgit's self-confidence increased dramatically when she was able to put herself into a long line of traditions which she could openly be proud of. The significance of "being different" changed from "negative" to "special and extraordinary".

Living through many years of self-doubt on the one hand and hard work and discipline on the other hand has turned Birgit into a strong woman who knows that she can achieve almost anything if she only perseveres and works hard. Her aspirations are high but not unrealistic as she usually meets the challenges she sets up for herself. Birgit has accepted many of the values and attitudes of her parents, although not necessarily to the same extent. She believes in hard work, a good education, the importance of a career, and strictness with children.

Birgit's experience in Europe allowed her to incorporate both German and Canadian culture in her self-understanding, at the same time elevating them to a different level of awareness. Although she identifies herself as a Canadian, she is not an "average" one, but one who – after a long period of experiencing conflict – has integrated the "superior" aspects of European culture, e. g. better food, better taste in clothes, and a cosmopolitan outlook, into her Canadian life style.

It seems that Birgit's major difficulty in accepting her parents' difference in behaviour was her inability to make sense of it. Evidently her mother could not help her either, because Mrs. B. was too concerned with being a "successful German mother" to develop a sensitivity for these particular problems of her daughter, although they were otherwise very close. Nor did Birgit have any opportunity in Canada to observe that her parents acted "normally" within a specific group of people as she had no relatives in Canada, her family lived in a very Canadian neighbourhood, and her parents had hardly any German friends whom they saw regularly. Birgit has fullfilled her mother's mission in becoming a sophisticated professional, but through this process Mrs. B. has become fairly dependent on her daughter, and is now threatened by Birgit's desire to take her ambitions a step further and live in Europe.

D. Claudia

Introduction

Mrs. C. was asked by a friend to give me an interview and she then asked her children to speak to me. Since the C.'s sons were too busy or not interested I spoke to Claudia, the only daughter in the family. I interviewed Mr. and Mrs. C. in their country home about 30 km outside the city and spoke to Claudia in her apartment in town. The parent interview was conducted in German, the child interview in English.

History

Mrs. C. was born in 1921 in a city in eastern Germany. After completing the regular school she went to a trade school to become a retailer. During the war Mrs. C. worked for the Navy in northern Germany, and after the war she went to an interpreter's school.

Mr. C. was born in 1924 in a town in northern Germany. He went to the academic high school and received a training in commerce after obtaining his *Abitur*. Mr. C. was a soldier for three years and spent one year as a prisoner of war with the American Forces.

Mr. and Mrs. C. met and were married after the war and then lived in Mr. C.'s hometown in northern Germany. They decided to emigrate because the economic situation in Germany was dreadful and they also felt somewhat adventurous. It was originally Mrs. C.'s idea, but it did not take very much to interest Mr. C. as well. The C.s came to Canada in 1953. At that time they already had one son who was five years old. Their three other children were born in Canada, a second son in 1954, Claudia in 1956, and a third son in 1960.

Parents' Adjustment

Since the C.s did not have any money in Germany, Mr. C. came to Canada on his own and worked two jobs at the same time to pay off his travel costs and to buy the tickets for his wife and son. Mr. C. lived in a town on the Prairies, he had found employment as a plasterer there through a contact in Germany. His first impressions of Canada were very positive, mainly because there was no unemployment and because the people of his company were very helpful and accommodating when he arrived.

> "It already started when I arrived in Montreal by ship. I was of a somewhat generous nature, so I gave the rest of the money I had to the steward as a tip. When I disembarked I literally did not have a cent in my pocket, only a train ticket. Anyway, when the ship arrived in Montreal they called out my name, and my future boss had already taken into consideration that I probably would be pretty poor, and he had asked someone to hand me an envelope with some travel money."

When Mrs. C. arrived a few months later she was terribly disappointed and wanted to return to Germany as soon as possible. They were staying in a boarding house with very poor furniture and Mr. C. was working nights and slept all day, thus Mrs. C. did not have anyone to talk to. She could not go out either as she had to look after her son. On Sundays one could not go for a walk like in Germany, because Prairie towns were just not built for promenading. However, after being in a state of shock for a month, Mrs. C. realized that she had to make the best of the situation and that crying did not help. Consequently she adapted and overcame her disappointment with time, finding the people very friendly and helpful.

In the beginning the C.s missed many things they had been used to in Germany. They could not appreciate the Prairie countryside as they were used to living on the ocean, in a town surrounded by trees and hills. Mrs. C. missed especially the cultural activities in Germany. She used to go to the theatre quite frequently, and also enjoyed visiting lounges to have a drink in a civilized atmosphere. She and her husband could not understand that there were no such amenities on the Prairies. Despite these initial shortcomings the C.s never regretted their decision to emigrate to Canada. They took a vacation to the Rocky Mountains after one year and came to like the Province of Alberta. After another two years they moved to a city in Alberta to open up their own retail business.

The C.s encountered hardly any problems in Canada. They both spoke English before they arrived and then took some courses in Canada to "polish it and get into it more quickly." Only their oldest son had to contend with a few difficulties. He started kindergarten at once and had to repeat the year to bring his English up to standard. He also had problems with a teacher whose brother had been killed by Germans during the war. This teacher never reproached the C.'s son with being German, but she sent him out of the room very often. Another teacher finally brought this to the attention of Mr. and Mrs. C. and they subsequently put their son into a different class. The C.'s oldest son was also the only member of the family who was ever called a Nazi. This happened during his early school years, and Mr. C. gave his son boxing lessons so that he could fend for himself. Mrs. C. did not agree with that but could not do anything about it.

In Alberta the C.s built up a very successful retail business and never encountered any discrimination. Mr. and Mrs. C. are Canadian citizens and feel more at home in Alberta than in Germany, but at heart they are still German. They are very well informed about politics in Germany, since they have been there on business trips two or three times a year over the past twenty years. However, Mr. and Mrs. C. do not think they could live in Germany anymore, as they have changed in Canada. They have become more tolerant and generous and find that the people in Germany are too self-centred. The C.s are happy and content in Alberta and do not miss anything, since cultural events are now taking place here as well.

Mr. and Mrs. C. belong to several German clubs in the city. They primarily joined for social reasons, to have a place where they could meet friends and spend a nice evening. Mr. C. thinks that the German clubs are also important as a lobby group with government agencies to look after the interests of the people of German ethnic origin, for example to stop television stations from showing inaccurate German baiting war movies. Most of the C.'s friends are post-war German immigrants. With them the C.s can talk about everything, they have discussions which become quite loud at times, and they play German card games together.

At home the C.s still celebrate Christmas, Easter, birthdays, and anniversaries in the old style, all of which are big events. Mrs. C.'s cuisine is basically German, although she does prepare a Chinese dish or something else every once in a while. Mr. and Mrs. C. have German music at home, but they prefer to read English books as the English style now means more to them than the German. The C.s enjoy having the opportunity to participate in the various traditions of the different ethnic groups in Canada.

Self-Description

Claudia sees herself as a very independent young woman who sets high standards for herself and is disappointed when she does not meet them. After finishing high school Claudia worked for two years and then attended a technical college to receive a business training. She now works as an accountant and continues her education at night school. She has always liked mathematics and numbers and did not want to work with people because she easily becomes impatient and does not like to be phoney. When Claudia feels strongly about something she will say it and will not budge from her opinion.

Claudia enjoys being with her friends. She likes sports and trying new and crazy things like sky-diving or "jumping off cliffs into the water." However, she "usually checks things out really well" before she does them. Claudia thinks that her friends appreciate her easy-going and flexible nature and that she does not judge people immediately but tries to see something good in everyone. Similarly, in choosing her boyfriend it was very important for her that he was open-minded.

One of the important events in Claudia's life was her family's move to the country after she had been living in the city for 14 years. Living in the country changed her a lot, she learned to accept people and not to be so critical. Moving away from home at the age of 19 was a very positive experience for Claudia; afterwards she got along much better with her parents.

For the future Claudia would like to be comfortable financially, but not necessarily well to do. She wants to travel a little and be able to do the things she really wants to do. Claudia hopes to get married and have children. She would continue to work and would like to be able to enjoy her work. As far as her career is concerned, Claudia is continuing her education in a programme which will take five years and does not know yet whether she will go beyond that.

Claudia does not go to church, but she thinks that she has her own religion and believes in something.

For Claudia the meaning of being an immigrant child is found in "the differences that you encounter, how you handle them, and how you see things differently from other people." Claudia thinks differently from her friends in that her family is very important for her and in that she is not so much concerned with getting ahead. Her family was different because they did not have any relatives in Canada and because her parents did some things differently.

Family

Her family is very important to Claudia, she relies a lot on them for emotional support and becomes almost depressed when she does not see them. She tries to visit her parents every weekend and usually meets at least one of her brothers there as well. Claudia cannot imagine moving away and thinks it would break her mother's heart if any of the children moved out of commuting distance, because the parents rely a lot on their children to enjoy life and to have fun. The C.-family is very affectionate and emotions are shown very openly. They hug and kiss a lot, which Claudia finds different from other families.

> "My friends, they notice it. They like it. My mum will hug me and they stand there and don't know what to do. My sisters-in-law, all three of them weren't used to that kind of affection. As soon as my mum found out that they were getting married , well, they are a daughter so they deserve a hug and a kiss. They used to be really shy about that, it was a little hard for them to get used to. I think they like it now, I think they feel comfortable. My boyfriend gets a kiss all the time now too."

Although the C.s are a very happy family now, it has not always been so and Claudia went through some rough times with her brothers and her parents. Most of the time she was very close to her brothers, but when she was in her early teens the siblings fought so much that Mrs. C. was afraid to leave them alone for fear they might injure one another.

Claudia was very upset with her parents when they decided to move to the country without obtaining the children's consent. It happened just before she started high school and it took her a year to get used to the children in her new school. At about the same time Claudia really hated her parents for a year, because she could not stand being told what to do. She thought her parents were too curious, asking too many questions about her personal things. They also wanted her to change her friends, but she fought for a long time without giving in. Her father embarrassed Claudia by making a negative statement about a friend directly to her face and she did not forgive him for a long time. However, after a year things were back to normal when her parents accepted that she was not a child anymore.

When she was small, Claudia was always aware and often embarrassed by her parents' different background and tried to teach them how to be Canadian. She had to explain a lot more to her parents how things were done than the other children did. Claudia used to correct her mother's pronunciation and was embarrassed when her mother hugged her in a store, because no one else did that. Claudia also tried to convince her mother that children did not have to be dressed so well and she had to beg a lot to get her first pair of blue jeans when she was in grade 8. Being boys, Claudia's brothers had it even harder, because Mrs. C. really liked them to be dressed nicely and neatly and refused to buy them blue jeans and T-shirts. The boys screamed and shouted, but their mother did not understand why.

There were not many fixed rules in the C.-family. Claudia thinks she had to do more house cleaning than her friends because her mother was working. Claudia always had to clean her room before she went out, she had to finish her dinner before getting up from the table, and she had to polish her shoes. Claudia had to be home when she was told to be, but the times were flexible depending on the events she was partaking in. Her parents were very strict about the children listening to them, "no was no, and there was no way out of it." Mr. C. made the decisions in the family, and sometimes his wife was able to change his mind. If he was in a good mood the children could also joke their way around him, but usually he was quite firm. Claudia never really had to lie to her parents about where she went or what she did, whereas her friends had to make up the most incredible stories. She thinks that she and her brothers were fairly well behaved children who never interrupted their parents when they had company.

Because Mr. C. was very occupied with his business the family did not do too many things together, but they took a family vacation every summer.

Claudia tried not to discuss school with her parents, because the less they knew the more she could get away with:

> "I really didn't want them to know how well or how poorly I was doing. I knew my mum couldn't really understand the report cards. So I would just interpret them in my own way. Because they are really crazy now, they are all computerized and have codes. She would say, what does this mean? Oh, that means I am having a little difficulty, actually it's ten absences. But we never really talked much about school.
> Gisela:"Did they ask you, though, were they interested?"
> Claudia:"Not *really* interested. But mum would know, or dad, if something was coming up. They would know if I had been working all night on something. For sure they would find out how I did and if it went okay. They did not hover over us all night to see what we were doing."

Claudia always had many friends and did almost everything together with them. She spent every evening and every weekend with them, going out or just meeting at the different homes. Mr. and Mrs. C. like to have young people around them and welcomed their children's friends in their home. Claudia also participated in many activities with one of her brothers, they took ballroom dancing lessons together and spent winter weekends in the mountains as members of the ski-patrol.

Claudia appreciates the open-minded attitude of her parents. Unlike her friends she was never pressured by her parents to get married. On the contrary, they are always encouraging her to go somewhere or do something; they do not urge her to settle down and understand that she just wants to spend time on herself. Claudia thinks her parents are very adventurous and believes they regret that they did not get to see the world while they were still young. They always allowed Claudia to miss school for a holiday. Claudia thinks she would raise her children the same way she was brought up, strongly emphasizing a trust relationship.

In raising their children Mr. and Mrs. C. were quite tolerant, but they set certain limits and insisted that the children maintained and demonstrated respect for their parents. Since Mr. C. was very busy, he did not concern himself too much with the upbringing of his children. For Mrs. C. it was important that they should speak German, but she found it too difficult to enforce a "German-only" rule in the home after the children had started school. Instead, the C.s sent their children to relatives in Germany to brush up on their German when they were older. When the children were small Mrs. C. read German books to them.

Mr. and Mrs. C. like to dance and they have a lot of German dancing music at home. They often danced when they had company, and the children enjoyed that as well and often accompanied their parents to dance events.

The C.'s had a good relationship with their children and talked about everything. However, now Mrs. C. is finding out that her children also concealed a lot from her. The parents did not have many problems with the children, although the latter were no angels and played a few tricks. Mrs. C. only spanked her children when they had exhausted her patience, usually by being lippy or insolent.

The C.s did not approve of television but bought a T.V. set when their children started staying away from home to watch television at their friends' places. Mrs. C. does not think that her children were any different from Canadian children, and it was important for them to be like everyone else.

Mrs. C. was always interested in her children's school work and activities. She would have liked all of them to attend university and would have paid for it. But only one son went to university and then left after a year because he was bored. Mrs. C. told her children that she thought one should learn as much as possible if the opportunity exists, but she would not force them into anything. She believes that children should seek an education for themselves and not for their mother.

School and Occupation

Claudia was an average student and never failed at anything. She could have done a lot better, but was more interested in doing things with her friends than in schoolwork. She worked well under pressure but was never one to work ahead or to do things on time. In high school she was well known for not handing her assignments in on time. Claudia mostly liked school because she met her friends there. She never had any problems with her teachers and was well liked by her classmates, being good friends with many of them. In high school Claudia was a member of the drama club and a cheerleader, but she was never interested in joining a sports team.

After high school Claudia worked for two years to make up her mind what she wanted to do. She knew beforehand that she wanted to go back to school, but she did not know what for. She then decided to become an accountant and went to college for two years. Generally speaking Claudia does regard university or secondary education as important. She does not believe that school is for everyone and thinks that it depends entirely on the person. Two of her brothers are good examples that one can be successful without even a high school diploma.

Language

When Claudia first met Canadian children at the age of four she did not speak any English. She learned it from a neighbour's girl who is still her best friend, and she never had any language problems. Claudia's parents always spoke German at home, but they did not force the children to read or write German. Claudia understands German but does not speak it well. It improves a lot with practice when she is visiting in Germany. She does not notice anymore whether her parents speak English or German.

Mr. and Mrs. C. did not send their three younger children to a German language school because they were too busy on Saturdays to drive them there. And the children did not want to attend school on Saturday either. In high school Claudia took French as a second language because she wanted to learn it, although German would have been much easier for her.

Claudia considers herself very fortunate to have grown up bilingual and enjoys being able to talk to someone in a different language. She would like her children to be biliungual as well and will probably send them to a French bilingual school.

Ethnic Identification

Claudia is proud to be a Canadian and definitely wants to live in Canada as this is her home. She now thinks that it is nice to be different from other Canadians and loves to show other people how her family does things the traditional German way. Claudia considers herself German in that her family comes first, but in other aspects she is very Canadian.

As a child Claudia did not appreciate being different from her friends and she was very hurt and offended when other people called her father a Nazi. She became very sensitive and defensive about this issue and tried to explain that he had only been a soldier fighting for his country. Claudia discussed this issue with her parents, asking her father whether he had killed anyone, in particular any Canadians or any Jews.

> "My father jumped right in, he liked to talk about it. They were the biggest days in his life. He talked about it like it was a party. He was young and all these boys and the adventure. I don't think they ever ran into real trouble. They sort of caught the back of something. He talks about it, as if it was wonderful."

After Claudia had her parents explain to her exactly what had happened to them during the war she was able to handle situations where she was confronted with Germany's past. Claudia thinks that these experiences helped her to become very unprejudiced. She gets into a lot of arguments defending contemporary Asian immigrants, because she thinks they have the same right to be in Canada as her family does.

German culture for Claudia means getting together a lot, emphasizing family and friends and doing things together. She sees German men as quite aggressive and sometimes narrow-minded, whereas the women are usually the peace keepers. Claudia finds that German food tastes better than Canadian food, and that the European taste in clothes is better too. She thinks that Germans enjoy life more than Canadians and that the latter are going too fast in their desire to get ahead, that they are not taking the time to do the things they enjoy.

Claudia's boyfriend comes from a French family, and it was never important for her to find a man from a German background. But it mattered to her father.

> Gisela: "Did your parents ever want you to find someone from a German background?"
> Claudia: "My father did, but my mother didn't. I had specific rules who I could go out with and who I couldn't, from my father."
> Gisela: "And that was not just a joke?"
> Claudia: "I found out later, it's not just a joke."
> Gisela: "Did you take it as a joke at the time?"
> Claudia: "Yes. Like, my father hates Jewish people, he hates them. Are you Jewish?"
> Gisela: "No."
> Claudia: "Well, he hates them. I knew he had a lot of contact with them in business, but I thought it was just a grudge and not all that serious. So one time a guy was coming to take me out on our first date and his name was John Stewart. He was Irish. So I told my father his name was John Bernstein.

> And he said: that's Jewish. And I said: Oh, is it? I don't know Jewish. Well, he had a fit. There was no way I could go out with that man. The poor guy practically had to show his driver's licence to go out with me. And that was when I realized how serious my father was."
> Gisela: "Was that the only big thing, not going out with a Jewish guy?"
> Claudia: "Oh yes, that was the biggy. Or coloured, that's not right either. That wouldn't be fair to the children. God knows why, but it wouldn't be fair to the children."
> Gisela: "How did your father react to your present boyfriend?"
> Claudia: "Oh, he liked him right away, even though he is a Frog."

Summary and Analysis

One reoccurring pattern that marks the relationships of the members of the C.-family is their tendency to solve conflicts through open confrontation, and this style also characterizes some of their dealings with the outside world.

Claudia and her parents report several incidents when parents and children confronted each other, e. g. when Mrs. C. insisted that her children be dressed well, when Claudia resisted her parents' nosiness, or when Mr. C. showed some rude behaviour towards Claudia's friends. As far as other people are concerned, Claudia describes herself as someone who will stick to her opinion, which often leads to arguments, especially on the topic of ethnic diversity in Canada.

The cultural transition of the C.-family from German parents to children who positively identify themselves as Canadians, took place within an open juxtaposition of both cultures. The process included on the one hand the parents' openness towards their Canadian environment, i. e. they had chosen to stay here, wanted to make Canadian friends, and wanted their children to be Canadians who fit in with their peers, while using the opportunity to learn from them. On the other hand Mr. and Mrs. C. have publicly acknowledged their German origin without being ashamed, joining German clubs and taking their children along. Within the family some of the parents' personal or cultural preferences were met with opposition and defiance by the children, e. g. the parents' wish to speak German at home or their desire that the children attend university. Although Mr. and Mrs. C. had these educational aspirations for their children, they did not force them to study very hard when the children showed little interest in schoolwork. Similarly, Mrs. C. preferred a harmonious home atmosphere to having the children speak only German at home.

For Claudia being an immigrant child meant having parents who did things differently and not having any relatives in the country. Claudia accepted and respected her parents behaviour at home, but was embarrassed when they displayed their differences in public. She gave them remedial lessons in "how to be a Canadian", so that they would not be so conspicuous, but she also used their ignorance of the Canadian school system to her advantage. Claudia herself did not encounter any problems with her background as her parents recognized and respected her need to be like Canadian children. They simultaneously reserved for themselves the right to follow their life style at home. The only aspect in which Claudia and her brothers differed from Canadian children was in their clothing, as Mrs. C. was glad to have the money to dress her children well according to European fashions and failed to see that in Alberta jeans and T-shirts were the norm for boys instead of corduroys and a dress shirt. It was not as bad for Claudia as she was a girl, for whom it was more acceptable to be dressed a touch too fancy.

Claudia was confronted with her German background when someone called her father a Nazi. In her desire to defend him she openly discussed the events of the war with her parents and was satisfied that her father was no worse than soldiers from other countries. However, the issue made her very aware of and sensitive to racial discrimination and the impact prejudice has on the individual. Claudia turned a negative experience of racial confrontation into positive learning, as she now sees herself as very open minded and unprejudiced. In that respect she is quite different from her father who espouses some racist attitudes and who taught his son to deal with problems of discrimination through the use of physical force.

Claudia fought with her parents to assert herself and develop her own personality. These struggles were part of the normal process of growing up and were not confounded by issues related to ethnicity. Claudia respects her parents and their lifestyle and is proud to show other people the special traditions that are kept in her family. She is Canadian and does not have any doubts about that as she regards most of her attitudes and lifestyle as Canadian.

Claudia was able to develop a positive view of herself because her parents neither imposed their interests on her nor did they surrender them to her. She was well aware of her parents' different ideas and behaviours, and discussed them openly. However, her parents allowed her to choose her own life and to identify with whichever culture she chose, without withdrawing their love or respect. Now both, parents and daughter, derive great pleasure from sharing parts of their lives with each other and participating in family traditions, as well as exchanging their different ideas and experiences.

E. Daniel

Introduction

Mr. and Mrs. D. had seen one of my posters in a German shop and responded enthusiastically, taking the opportunity to share their personal experiences as well as the observations they made servicing German immigrants in their functions as a minister and a minister's wife in German churches in Canada. Three of their four children still live at home, and I talked to their youngest son, Daniel. The two interviews were conducted on separate days in the home of the D.-family, I spoke German with the parents and English with Daniel.

History

Mr. D. was born in the Ukraine, in 1902, as one of 14 children. His family lived there in a self-contained German colony until 1916, when they were deported to Siberia. Mr. D. stayed there for 13 years and then fled to escape annihilation. With the exception of one brother, who had left earlier, all his brothers were killed. Mr. D.'s flight took him through Manchuria to Shanghai where he caught a boat to Germany.

In Germany he went to a bible school for two years and attended a preacher seminar for another two years, receiving a music education at the same time. During the war he was a soldier for five years, followed by two years as a prisoner of war in France. He returned to southern Germany to finish university studies in theology which he had commenced during the war. At that time he met his future wife.

Mrs. D. was born and raised in a city in southern Germany. She completed the academic high school and was trained as a nursery school teacher. After the war she encountered many refugee children at work. Mr. and Mrs. D. married with the intention of emigrating to be of service to their fellow German emigrants, children and adults.

The D.s came to Canada in 1951, their oldest daughter was four months old at that time. The other three children were born in Canada, a son in 1953, a daughter in

1957, and Daniel in 1960.

Parents' Adjustment

The idea to emigrate originally stemmed from Mr. D., and they chose Canada because Mr. D. had an older brother who had already established himself there. The D.s emigrated in order to take along and preserve the German culture, feeling capable of doing so as they were experts in music and child care. They did not know much about Canada, but they knew through the church that German communities existed there. Mrs. D. had taken six years of English in school, whereas Mr. D. had only studied classical languages. But he did not have any difficulty learning English during the first six months which he spent attending a theological seminar.

Their first appointment was to a rural German community on the Prairies, where they arrived in winter. At first Mrs. D. could not appreciate the vastness, but after a while she felt truly free. She was also moved by the hospitality of the people.

At first,they missed music, the classical masters and the choruses. The first years were very difficult in that respect, and to comfort themselves they went to an occasional concert, driving at least 100 km to attend. The D.s found that the long distances were their "evil enemy", they always had to drive very far to take their children to lessons etc.

Their second pastorate was in B. C., and this was a mixed German and English parish, and thus the D.s had to adapt to bilingual weddings and services. Shortly after Daniel was born the D.s came to Alberta, first to a rural community and then to the city. In all these places they never personally experienced any prejudice against Germans, Mrs. D. was only hurt by some well-intentioned people who urged her to forget about her German heritage and become Canadian.

Mr. and Mrs. D. definitely feel at home in Canada now. Mr. D. used to think they would move back to Germany after his retirement, but he has dropped that idea. Mrs. D. goes back to Germany quite frequently to visit her mother, but she would not want to live there permanently. She finds it too narrow and the way of life is so patterned that there is not as much room for individuality as here. Although they feel Canadian now, Mr. and Mrs. D. are still German citizens. They do not see the need to take out Canadian citizenship, trusting they will not be thrown out of the country since they will continue to put all their strength and effort into it as long as they live and are able to work. Mrs. D.

found they grew to love Canada the longer they stayed.

> "It is impossible to turn your whole nature inside out in a short time, it has to grow slowly. That is how it happened. The longer we lived in the new country, the more we loved the land and its people. Most importantly, we were allowed to cultivate the old, which was in us and very dear to us. We find this wonderful in Canada. Nobody says you must not speak German. All this freedom. That is a very great gift which we have and may enjoy. Of course, out of gratitude you adjust to the new homeland. We will always preserve the German family life we have grown fond of, and there is no problem with our children. Once they enter the house, we speak German."

Self-Description

Daniel is a 21 year old university student reading a social science. School and his studies take priority over everything else in his life, and it has always been that way. After high school he went to a technical college for two years before deciding that he wanted to continue his studies at university. However, he is not seeking an academic career, but wants to get out and be a professional.

Daniel loves history and is also interested in politics, but does not get actively involved because that would take time away from his studies. He is an outdoors person and likes to go hiking and skiing in the mountains. He describes himself as a person with a balanced temper who can be very shy and also very outgoing. He respects authority, but speaks his mind if he is asked to do something unreasonable.

A positive experience in his childhood that stands out for Daniel were the Saturday afternoons at his father's church. He would meet with other German immigrant children for language classes and they also participated in a small choir. He enjoyed this very much, and somehow it was very special for him, although he cannot explain why. He does not remember any negative experiences or major disappointments.

Daniel's major goal in life is to find a job in his field. Number two is to do a lot of travelling in Europe once he has the time and the money. And in another decade he would probably like to settle down with someone. His parents always say he should choose a German girl as a wife, and he thinks he would try to find someone from a German background, "because we would more than likely have a lot in common and it would also help if you want your kids to grow up with a second language, two is better than one." He would also want her not to be too sophisticated, to be outgoing, to share his enthusiasm for the outdoors.

Music and Religion

Being a minister's family, the life of the D.s naturally revolved around the church, religion, and providing a service to the people. For Daniel religion is important; it gives him an awareness, something to rely on if things don't go his way, or something to turn to. Mr. D. thinks that without religion the world would be in chaos, and although he recognizes that a lot of nonsense and crime have been committed in the name of the church, he still feels the church provides a resting point, something one could always adhere to. "Where God's word is taken seriously, there is a life worth living." He also feels very strongly about the development of music within the Christian church, pointing out that the world is indebted to the church for this great gift. For him church and classical music constitute an indivisible unity.

Music was very important in the D.-family. All the children learned to play instruments and were taken to music lessons, despite the costs and long distances involved. Daniel played music with his family and at church, and he still enjoys that as well as singing with them at Sunday services.

Urged by their friends, the D.-family started to participate in music festivals, and won many trophies. They received a lot of appreciation and recognition for their effort to preserve musical traditions within their family, and they helped to found various musical organisations. The D.-children were awarded many music scholarships for summer institutes and the oldest daughter pursued music as a career, she now is a professor of music at a university. Mrs. D. still teaches music to children in the neighbourhood.

Family

Daniel's family was and still is very close, his brother and sister are his best friends. There were no regulations in the family, it was sort of do as you please; but the way they talked to each other, and the way they think, did things together as a family, was totally different from other families. Other families do not cultivate the family life that Daniel's family enjoyed by always being together, making music together, and speaking German at home. In the summer they would go on a holiday together, usually to some summer music school, where one or more of Daniel's siblings were taking courses.

Daniel remembers his parents as being very lenient in regard to housework, they did not expect their children to do anything except to help along when there was work to be done. The children were never really punished, only diplomatically by being told what the consequences of their actions were likely to be. The only disagreements Daniel had with his parents concerned the T.V. and the music he listened to. They did not want him to watch many programmes because of the violence involved, and their tastes in music are different from those of Daniel, who likes all kinds of music, not only classical. He now listens to the other music when his parents are gone. Mr. D. would make the decisions in the family, but he was open to suggestions from everyone. If Daniel did not like his father's decision he just had to put up. with it.

Mrs. D. raised her children according to what her heart told her, what she thought was right, and not following certain patterns. She never agreed with the people who wanted to raise their children "strict, after the old German fashion". She thinks it is easier to bring up children with humour and love. For her as well as for her husband obedience is one of the fundamentals in education, but it has to be achieved without force. Mrs. D. thinks she probably should have been stricter in regard to orderliness within the house. But on the other hand the home is the only place where one can let oneself go, and it has to be that way. Unlike other German housewives she never insisted that everything be cleaned up, since this made the home uncomfortable. Neither was she obsessed with always getting all the work done in the home, she and her husband worked as a team, sharing the housework as well as the work in the parish.

It was important for Mr. and Mrs. D. that the children grow up with the German traditions that were dear to them. They always spoke German in the home, cooked German meals, played music and games together, and read a lot together; in short they emphasized the family life. The D.s have been fairly poor throughout the years and thus made the simple beautiful, showing their children the beauty of the simple life. When they could not buy things they made them themselves, and Mrs. D. has built all kinds of toys for her children. They celebrated a lot at home, turning the most common occasions into a holiday worth special attention.

The education of his children was of utmost importance for Mr. D.. No matter how short of money the family was, he made sure the children got what they needed in that respect. He did not have the time to help them with their school work, but Mrs. D. checked it off and on, more out of interest than necessity, since their children did not have any problems at school. She always rewarded her children when they had been diligent. Daniel did his homework on his own, his parents encouraged him, but never had to give him a push. On the contrary, they almost had to stop him from studying as he often sat up all night. He has been a very contemplative child, always busy doing something. Mr. D. remembers that his wife could sit Daniel on top of a dresser when he was 18 months old, and he would stay there for half an hour without causing trouble. Other people were afraid he might fall down, but "this boy stayed where he was put."

It was Mr. D.'s desire that all his children would go to university, because he himself was prohibited from studying in his youth and had to struggle very hard to achieve what he did. All the children knew of their father's wish, but two of them chose a different way, and Mr. D. accepted it because he did not think he could do anything about it. Mrs. D. believes that God guides the young and therefore she does not worry too much about them. Their oldest son started working after high school in order to build a house for his parents, and he managed to pay it off within five years. The parents are very grateful for that. Daniel appreciates it as well, having free room and board at home and only needing to pay for his schooling by himself. He finds that his family is quite different in that respect from other families, where everyone is left on his own. In his family "everybody expects errands from one another, so you just naturally do them. We work together in the sense, like if you are financially in a little bit of difficulty, I will lend somebody else money without thinking twice, and I don't care when I get it back as long as I get it back some time." Daniel never received an allowance from his parents, but would usually get money when he asked for it. He started working summers when he was fifteen, on his brother's construction crew.

Daniel could bring his friends home, but more often he went over to their place. This was "maybe because I didn't want my parents to clean up after me, if I didn't want to do it myself." His parents tried to pick the best friends for him by advising him to choose friends who had the most in common with him. He "sort of followed that". Today he has many friends his parents do not care for, but hitherto that was not the case. At school he had a lot of oriental friends, somehow they seemed to have a strong attachment to him.

He thinks he shared with them a pride in their respective cultures and an identification with their forefathers. Most of their interaction revolved around music and sports.

In regard to the upbringing of his own children, it would be very important for Daniel to make sure that they not only get along with their parents, but with their teachers as well, "because teachers are their biggest influence in life, pretty well. They have to do a lot with the outcome of them, personality and just everything about them that is very important. Children should also respect authorities, and...er, I think the church should play a role in their life."

School

Daniel liked school, and now university is the most important part of his life. In school he was always at the top of the class. He worked quite hard, but generally enjoyed studying. Sometimes he had to force himself to work after procrasting. However, school was much less painful for him than for his brother and sister. He felt some pressure from his parents to do well. They encouraged him and praised him when he brought good marks home. Daniel replied briefly to his parents when they asked how school was, but he did not discuss it at length. He had no serious problems at school and took care of the other ones himself, usually asking his teachers for help with academic difficulties.

He got along very well with his classmates and teachers. His favourite subject was social studies, and he liked math the least because he did not do as well in it as in the other subjects. Daniel didn't participate in any organized extra-curricular activities. He really enjoyed track and field and was called the road-runner by his friends. He did well in competitions, winning quite a few prizes.

Language

To cultivate the German language abroad was a major concern of Mr. and Mrs. D. and so they spoke exclusively German at home. In regard to literature they really spoiled their children because they had a lot of German reading material sent over by relatives. On the long winter evenings Mrs. D. would read books to her children, also requiring them to read out loud a chapter or a page here and there. Thus all the D.-children speak, read and write German fluently.

Mrs. D. does not think any of her children spoke English when they entered school, but Daniel says he had learned it beforehand from friends and his older siblings. He has never had any problems with either language and is really grateful that he knows German. It made him feel more secure knowing another language, and he finds it useful to be bilingual; for example in getting around Europe, being able to enjoy German films, reading different kinds of literature, and being able to read German scientific publications that have not yet been translated into English.

Daniel also thinks there is a special feeling in his family due to the fact that they are able to speak another language at home and that he converses with his parents in German. He would certainly urge his children to learn German and tries to speak it himself whenever possible.

Ethnic Identification

Daniel identifies himself as a German Canadian, a Canadian who likes the other way of life as well. He loves Canada, is proud to be a Canadian and it concerns him that so many young people do not take an interest in current affairs. He would like to spend his life in Victoria, because it has a British flavour to it. Germany is a wonderful place to visit, but he could not live there for more than a year, since the crowdedness would drive him bezerk.

Daniel never had any difficulties integrating the German and Canadian aspects of his environment and experienced little prejudice because of his background. There was only one neighbour family whose kids always called the D.-children "Krauts", but they just ignored that. When such incidents occurred, Mr. and Mrs. D. explained to their children that there had been an evil war and that many people had suffered, but that there are good and bad people everywhere and that they themselves had come to Canada in order to get along well with everyone.

In Daniel's family German culture was expressed in the family life, playing a lot of games together etc. Daniel has a feel for European architecture, he loves it and enjoys building models of it. Punctuality and exactness are typical German traits for Daniel. He is suspicious of the success of Germans in Alberta, because they tend to make use of people to get where they are, and Daniel thinks that many of them have not made their way up in life entirely honestly. Germans here tend to be fairly aggressive, physically and psychologically.

Most Canadians, in contrast, do not have any real goals in life, they are on the lazy side, which might just be an effect of the vastness of the country. Daniel thinks in North America there is more of a balance of different types of workers than in Germany, a lot of people here still do blue collar work and he himself does not mind working on construction.

Summary and Analysis

In the D.-family the change from being a German family to becoming Canadians took place very gradually and almost in spite of themselves. The D.s moved to Canada very clearly as missionaries of German culture, with the intention not only of retaining it in their family but also of spreading and helping to maintain it amongst other families. Originally they had planned to return to Germany after completing their work, i. e. after retirement, but by that time the parents as well as the children had become part of Canadian society and preferred to stay. Since the parents were free to pursue their ideals of cultural and family life in Canada, they grew to appreciate aspects of Canadian life and integrated their own contributions, especially those in the field of music, into it; thus having an enriching effect on Alberta's cultural life, which is recognized by other people.

The children were exposed to and integrated into Canadian life through school, a process in which Daniel did not encounter any problems, as his family left that part of his life to him, without interfering. Daniel considers his family life as very positive and thus wishes to maintain it in his own future family, thereby implicitly carrying on some German traditions and thus providing an example of his parents' success in fullfilling their mission. His older sister does this even more, as she actively contributes to the other part of the parents' ideal, the proliferation of classical music, through her occupation as a music professor.

Daniel identifies himself as a German Canadian, which he defines as a proud and loyal Canadian who at the same time knows and enjoys the German lifestyle. He never really thought of himself as an immigrant child but noticed that his family was quite different from other families. It was mostly a positive distinction as Daniel finds it very special that they spoke German at home and did so many things together, especially playing music. The only negative aspect was that they were also quite poor. However, this affected Daniel much less than his older siblings, since by the time he had reached high school age, his oldest sister was already on her own and his brother contributed significantly to the family budget by working fulltime in the construction business. Daniel was never ashamed of his family's financial situation but now strives to obtain a well paid and secure profession so that he can live more comfortably.

Since Mr. and Mrs. D. had come to Canada to help preserve German traditions in a foreign country and since Mr. D. knew from his own experience that this was possible, it was beyond question that the D.s would raise their children in a very German home. For Mrs. D. this did not imply being a strict, tidy, and extremely well organized mother as so many German women were, but rather to emphasize a harmonious family life with many shared activities. The D.s introduced their children to their interests and also allowed them to develop interests of their own. Daniel's conflict free development can be attributed to these attitudes of his parents combined with two other facts. Firstly, his family was in permanent contact with other German immigrants, usually in a role of leadership, which meant that their lifestyle was good and acceptable. Secondly, Daniel was the youngest child and profited from the experiences of his siblings who taught him English, prepared him for a Canadian school life by simply talking about school events at home, and probably corrected some misconceptions and inadequate ideas of his parents about a child's life in Canada.

Daniel had no problems in complying with his parents' wishes. He felt pressure to do well in school, but this did not create difficulty for him since he found schoolwork relatively easy and enjoyable. Only recently has Daniel begun to assert himself against his parents. He has some friends his parents do not approve of and he enjoys a type of music they do not like. But he still respects them and cherishes their advice.

Daniel thinks he will marry a woman from a German background, not because he regards Germans as better, as in fact he is rather distrustful of fellow German immigrants, but because he would like to establish the same family life he himself experienced. His insistence on finding someone who is not too sophisticated and outdoors oriented indicates that Daniel sees his future life as a combination of the traditions he learned at home and the interests he developed in a Canadian environment.

F. Eric

Introduction

Eric is a teacher and responded to one of my requests posted in his school. He has been living in Alberta for seven years, while his parents still reside in Ontario. However, they happened to spend a vacation with their son and I interviewed them on that occasion. Both interviews took place in Eric's home; his wife was present for part of the time I talked to him, and both he and his wife listened to what Mr. and Mrs. E. reported. The parent interview in particular, was marked by a very warm and relaxed atmosphere, being interspersed with many shared laughs. Both interviews were conducted in English.

History

Mr. E. was born in 1921 in Transylvania, Rumania, where he grew up in a German speaking farm community. He also learned to speak Rumanian and Hungarian. During the war he first joined the Rumanian army and later on fought for the Germans. The end of the war found him in West Germany, and for political reasons he decided not to return to Rumania but rather to emigrate to North America.

In Germany he met his wife, Mrs. E. She was born (1928) and raised in an industrial city in the western part of Germany, where she completed the regular eight years of school and finished an apprenticeship as a skilled factory worker. Mr. and Mrs. E. were married in 1949 with the understanding that they would emigrate. It took until 1953 to obtain the visas, and in the meantime Mr. E. worked in the coalmines , something he disliked very much, because he could not see the sun. Eric, their oldest son, was born in 1950 while they were still in Germany, whereas their other two children were born in Canada, a daughter in 1956 and a second son in 1958.

Parents' Adjustment

Originally the E.s had wanted to emigrate to the United States, but that took too long and so they came to Canada. Mr. E. knew Canada on the map and from the accounts of his father, who had worked there from 1928 to 1933. Mr. E. came to Canada with the idea of becoming a big farmer, a big rancher. Mrs. E. emigrated because her husband desired it, she would not have considered it otherwise.

The E.s started out as farm hands in Ontario, but after living on a farm for two years it became clear that Mrs. E. was a city girl and did not enjoy farming, and so the family moved to the city where Mr. E. found work in a factory. Although Mr. E.'s dream to become a big farmer and to be rich did not come true, he is not in the least disappointed with life, because they always had enough to eat and drink and plenty of friends, which is the main thing.

Mrs. E. agrees with her husband that they might be wealthier now had she allowed him to invest their money right away, but she fears that they might not have been as happy then. The first ten years in Canada were lean years for the E.s, after that the fat ones started. They saved every penny and were able to buy a house after they had been in the country for three years.

The farm the E.s worked on in the beginning was owned by English Canadians with whom they got along very well and with whom they still keep in touch. Mrs. E. found the people in general very friendly and helpful, especially with the language. The E.s did not miss much about Germany; they did not have a lot of money, but food was cheap and they always had enough to eat. Mrs. E. missed her family, but she was never homesick, having a good husband who provided for her.

For Mr. E. the most difficult thing to get used to was the food, especially the white bread. However, this problem was alleviated when they started living and cooking on their own. The entertainment was not what they were used to in Germany, and the E.s could not establish such a close contact with their neighbours as was common at home. However, these were only minor drawbacks, and generally speaking they did not encounter any major problems in the new country.

Self-Description

Eric grew up in Southern Ontario and went to university there as well. He is an elementary school teacher, who holds a B.A. in French and German. Eric moved to Alberta seven years ago. He has been married for three years and his first child is on the way. He is a Christian, belonging to a small Protestant sect.

Having his own family and his own house is important for Eric. Teaching is also becoming a significant part of his life. At first it was just a job, but the more he teaches the more he likes it. However, the single most important event in Eric's life was becoming a Christian. That happened at the age of 24, when he was spending a summer in Alberta. He had been a church goer beforehand, "but as far as having a personal relationship with the Lord, that didn't exist." His goals in life reflect his beliefs:

> "Well, I guess probably to learn as much as I can about whatever I can. I guess I am more interested in some things than in others. Like I said, we are in our church and I am one of the overseers, elders, and I guess to be a shepherd to the people. To serve. The other things are almost incidental. Rather than taking up a small part part of my life, as it was at one time, it is just reversed. ...
> (Pause)
> Having a family, we have a baby on the way, I would like to have a good family and bring them up well and everything, that type of thing."

Religion

Eric grew up in a Christian home, regularly attending church with his parents. They thought this would be the best they could do for their children. Mrs. E. had been brought up Catholic but switched to Lutheran when she got married. Since then religion has been very important to her, she thinks it brought the family together, especially her husband. They still say grace at every meal, but Mr. E. points out that they are not fanatics, "we are just moderate. I always say: a family that prays together, stays together."

Even though Eric had been raised according to Christian principles, he was not committed to walking with God until later in his life. When he started going to university he was searching for something, "some meaning to life, whatever you want to call that", but did not find it there. While visiting a friend in Alberta he went to a meeting of a church group, and "it just happened".

> "It is hard to explain, it really is, it is a personal experience. But if you are open to the Lord and want him to come into your life, then he just might, you know."

Eric moved out west because he had come to the Lord and because his church and new friends were here. He also met his wife, a Canadian of British descent, at his church, and it was very important that they shared the same goals in life, about serving God. A major part of their activities revolves around the church, they meet a few times a week for services, and apart from that they also engage in recreational activities with friends from their church.

Eric's beliefs influence his life "quite a bit".

> "It is not a matter of what you do or what you don't do, like rules and regulations. It is just a matter of becoming more mature as you are walking through life. More responsible and able to see things, care for people."

His teaching has also been affected:

> "I try to be loving towards the kids. You have to anyway, whether you are Christian or not. I don't like to draw this line of Christians or non-Christians, it's not ... it's a bunch of bullshit."

Eric pays respect to superiors because he believes God has put them there, he will only object if something is terribly wrong.

He wants to bring up his children in the Christian life style, inculcating in them an awareness of who they are and where they come from, which goes beyond any human order that has been set up, it ultimately goes back to the Lord. He and his wife intend to send their children to their church school.

Family

Eric describes his parents as very warm-hearted people who are quite emotional and who hugged, kissed, and cried a lot with their children. His father could be considered comparatively demonstrative for a man, Eric remembers having cried together with him a few times.

Work was an important part in the life of the E.-family. Both Mr. and Mrs. E. have worked all their life, although Mrs. E. took only seasonal employment when the kids were small. Then Mr. E. often worked 16 to 17 hours a day. When Eric was at home he usually took care of his younger brother and sister, and since he was more an indoor type it did not bother him to hang around the house and look after his siblings. The children were expected to help around the house and do their chores, receiving an allowance for that. At times the whole family would go fruit picking to get some extra money. Eric started working in the steel mills the summer he was 16, and he has been supporting himself ever since he got out of high school. For Mr. E. work is the spice of life:

> Mr. E.: "I love to work, we want to work. But not too much, work moderate, you know."
> Mrs. E.: "I like to work. I don't like to pull anybody's weight, and nobody is supposed to pull my weight. That's what I believe in."
> Gisela: "Does this attitude of yours differ from that of other Canadians?"
> Mr. E.: "I have always worked in a factory, so I think we should be proud of the work we do, but some people are not."
> Mrs.E.: "I think that is our background too, precision."
> Mr. E.: "Be proud of the work whatever it is. Like me, for instance, I am working for car manufacturers, and I am proud of what I do and I advertise it always, I drive one of their products."
> Mrs. E.: "I still tell my children: if you do something, do it right."

A major tenet for Mr. E. in raising his children was that none of them should join the army, because he had done so and as a result had had to give up his country. Now he thinks a bit of training might have done them good. The E.s were strict parents, their children had to behave and do their work. Mr. E. did not spoil his children, he would not see any food go to waste and made them eat everything. When the children wanted certain goods, like a bicycle, they had to earn the money themselves. He would not work overtime for that, and he did not buy on credit either, "that was strictly against his beliefs".

Rule number one in the family was that the children obey their parents. They could discuss things with their parents, but not argue. According to Mr. E. parents should have the last word: "As long as you eat from this table, you do as I say." The E.s were also very strict in regard to honesty. If they caught their children lying they punished them with the belt.

A good education for their children was extremely important for Mr. and Mrs.E. They insisted that the children kept ahead in school and helped them with their homework as far as they could and discussed school problems with them. Mrs. E. was very proud when Eric started university, and Mr. E. wanted his son to finish university very badly. He would have supported him financially, had Eric not been able to put himself through university. Both parents were extremely disappointed when Eric dropped out of university to work in the steel mills for a year. However, now that he is a teacher they are very satisfied to see him in a relatively stable job with a steady income and security. The E.s believe that the children have to live their own lives and left the choice of career up to them.

Eric recalls that usually his father would make the decisions in the family, but he would listen to his wife. "He was fair, still is." The parents liked to have the children together, to have a sort of stability in the family. As a family they regularly went on holidays together, mostly visiting relatives in the United States. Mr. and Mrs. E. also liked the children to go to church with them on Sunday mornings. The family really took up the Canadian life style, only their food remained German.

Eric did not really have any problems with his parents. He remembers being punished with the belt a few times as a child, but he thinks he deserved what he got. It was all part of growing up.

Eric always brought his friends home and generally his parents approved of them. Most were Canadian kids from his school, but since the family lived in a truly multicultural neighbourhood he also had some friends from a variety of ethnic backgrounds. In his spare time Eric would go swimming at the Y when he was younger, later on his major activity was playing in the school band.

Nowadays Eric stays in phone contact with his parents, he cares about what is happening to them. He gets along well with his brother and sister, but they are not his closest friends.

In his own family Eric would like life to be a thing of give and take, everyone co-operating together and husband and wife sharing in decision-making and running the family finances. He would like his children to be obedient and expects them to do what is asked, if it is reasonable. He considers it important that they have a good education.

School Experiences

School was a very positive experience for Eric. He does not recall having any problems with either his classmates or his teachers, but remembers positive incidents when his teachers helped and encouraged him. Learning new things at school was exciting, especially as far as history and geography were concerned. He was doing well all through school, having only some trouble with math and science during high school, but he didn't care all that much. Not being a sports person, physical education was one of his weaker subjects; he tried anyway and claims it did not bother him if he was much slower than the other guys.

The last years of school were a very happy time in Eric's life beause he was playing in the high school band, which amongst other engagements went on a six-week tour of Europe. There he became the interpreter for the band since he was taking French and German. Together with music these languages were his best subjects.

Eric's parents were very supportive of his school work. They knew his teachers and went to the regular school meetings. Eric thinks that to a certain point his parents were trying to relive their own youth over again with their children by giving them a good education, something they had been deprived of. When he had failed in something it was almost as if his parents had failed themselves. "It was almost like you were hurting them, or doing them injustice if you did not continue on. There were a couple of times that I threatened to quit school and they were just mortified." Eric started out being a good student for his parents' sake, but then wanted it for himself too, when he realized "that it is no fun being a dummy".

Language Experience

In the E.'s home a mixture of English and German is spoken. Mr. and Mrs. E. wanted their children to speak German at home, to at least maintain the language if not the culture, so that the children would not forget where they came from. They did not send their children to a German language school because they had neither the time nor the money. They regret this now, thinking that their children's German would be better had they attended a school. However, Eric does not think he would have liked this, five days of school was enough for him. At home he spoke German most the time, being fairly fluent in it.

Eric shares the opinion of his parents that it is very beneficial to know more than one language. It helped him to understand better different parts of the world, even if they were not French or German speaking.

> "By knowing another language you can have a sort of love for the people or the culture that they have; a better understanding of it than just looking at it through English-speaking eyes."

Eric never had any problems with English. He wants to make a conscious effort to speak German to his children, to at least give them a background in the language. Although his wife does not speak German, she agrees that the more languages one learns the better off one is, and they would consider sending their children to a German bilingual school were it not for their church school.

Ethnic Identification

Eric holds dual citizenship, Canadian and German, but considers himself to be more Canadian than German and regards Canada as his home. He kept his German citizenship more for reasons of convenience than anything else. His parents are Canadian citizens, but do not deny their German background. They still have many German friends who they like to socialize with, but they were also anxious that their children would not be any different from Canadian people, and raised them accordingly.

Eric does not remember any really negative experiences because of his background. In school his teachers never held it against him, but he was called names by some of his classmates. These were mostly non-cultural expressions, like "fatty", and it happened only every once in a while that he heard some comments related to Germany's Nazi past. He let those roll off his back, after talking to his parents who had advised him to ignore these children because they didn't know any better. There was only one incident when Eric fought with another boy, since the latter had called him a Nazi and accused Eric's father of killing his (the boy's) grandfather.

The E.s lived in a neighbourhood where immigrants outnumbered native-born Canadians, and generally Eric was well received and just blended in with the other kids. The Italians were the ones who suffered more from prejudice. In grade 10 Eric changed his German Christian name to "Eric", because it bothered him that the other children could not pronounce the German name properly.

Eric has visited Germany three times, at the ages of 17, 20, and 23; on none of these occasions was he accompanied by his parents. When he went over for the first time it felt rather strange to him, being so totally different from Canada; everything seemed a lot narrower, more compressed. He then appreciated the freedom in Canada a lot more. His parents never spoke much about Germany, they were glad to come over and leave things behind; therefore Eric picked up his knowledge about Germany in school.

The aspects of German culture which Eric enjoys are the folk songs, the dancing, and marching music. He likes the folklore and enjoys visiting the castles. He appreciates German food, but it is not all-important to him.

Eric thinks that Canadian culture is very much like American culture, "but yet there is a difference in that the people here, immigrants anyway, are able to maintain the culture or background from the country they come from." He is just starting to discover what Canadian culture is and feels "very strongly about the French Canadian thing, and the Indian folklore. The Indian people, the voyageurs, and all that. That to me is the real part of Canadian history, the way the country opened up from the east to the west."

In Eric's eyes, both Canadians and Germans are very materialistic, perhaps the Germans more so. He regards the following characteristics as typical German or typical Canadian:

> "With the Germans I think there is a focus on working hard, working very hard, but then playing very hard too. Having a good time, if it is eating or drinking or whatever, or sports. A thing of the Germans is perfection, doing things as best as you can, precision, accuracy.
>
> With Canadians not really caring that much, just letting things happen. Not being too particular. I think, for example, that in Canada as compared to the United States, I think Canadians probably have a better outlook on the world than Americans do. I might be totally wrong, but I think Canadians tend to care more what is happening not just in their own little province, but in different parts of the world."

Eric is basically Canadian, but he thinks he inherited some of the "typical" German characteristics. For example, he tends to be a perfectionist, this became apparent when he was building his own house.

Summary and Analysis

The theme for the evolution of the E.-family in Canada was the pursuit of a good life, i. e. to have plenty to eat and drink, many friends, and a close family. Other issues, though important, were subordinated to this goal. One example is the family's move from the country to the city, when it became apparent that Mrs. E. would not be happy on a farm. Mr. and Mrs. E. readily accepted the Canadian way of life as this did not interfere with their goals, but rather facilitated making friends and integrating their children into Canadian society. The parents became fully integrated members of the Canadian working class, who did not deny their background and also tried to instill in their children some sense of the cultural origin of the family.

Eric grew up in a multicultural immigrant neighbourhood where it was not special but rather the norm to have a lifestyle different from the regular Canadian family. Eric did not encounter any problems with his German background but profited in high school from speaking German. Mr. and Mrs. E. raised their children as Canadians and only kept those traditions that were essential to their own well being and survival, namely food and attending church. The emphasis on hard work did not distinguish Eric's family from their neighbours, and Mr. and Mrs. E.'s insistence upon success at school does not seem to have placed undue pressure on Eric, although he was well aware of their desire for him to do well.

Eric went through an identity crisis during his university years. He does not relate this "search for something" to the fact that his parents were immigrants and there is no evidence that ethnicity played a particularly significant role in his attempt to find a meaning to life. The crisis was resolved when he became a true believer and accepted the

Christian faith as a guideline for his life. Since he regards the totality of the human race, created and governed by God as his origin, ethnic or nationality differences do not really matter to Eric.

Eric is a Canadian in his life style, and since he is married to a woman whose family has been in the country for many generations, nothing from his German background has been carried over into his home. When Eric compares Canadians to other nationalities he contrasts them with Americans, and he joins many fellow Canadians in their desire to find out more about Canadian history and to heighten an awareness of what it means to be Canadian.

Being an immigrant child for Eric encompassed having a close family, speaking a different language at home, being relatively poor and having to work hard to progress in the world. But none of these aspects seemed especially significant when he was growing up.

The cultural transition of the E.-family took place very quickly and apparently painlessly. Apart from the language no aspects of German culture are retained in the second generation.

G. Irma

Introduction

Mrs. I. was asked by a friend to grant me an interview and she then obtained consent from her husband and daughter. The I.s now live on an acreage outside the city, with Irma and her family living fairly close by. I talked to Irma on a weekday morning, her husband and son were present as well. The interview was conducted in English, but it struck me that Irma resorted to German proverbs or sayings whenever making a point succinctly. This happened about six or seven times during our conversation. I spoke to Mr. and Mrs. I. in German, on a weeknight.

History

Mr. I was born in 1928 in south east Poland. His family lived there on a farm until late 1939, when they were resettled in the Warthegau by the Germans. Mr. I.'s village was predominantly German and the Germans and the Poles did not mix. His family spoke German at home and he received his religious instruction in German as well. Mr. I. did not serve in the army, he was completing his apprenticeship as a craftsman during the war and later continued to become a registered master of his trade. At the end of the war Mr. I.'s family fled from their home and settled in a village in East Germany. There Mr. I. met Mrs. I., who was working on her parents' farm.

She was born in 1931 and had attended the academic high school for a few years with the intention of becoming a Home Economics teacher, but had to interrupt her education due to health problems and started to work in agriculture.

Mr. and Mrs. I. were married in 1952, Irma was born in 1953 and her brother in 1955.

Parents' Adjustment

Mr. I.'s younger brother emigrated to Canada in 1951 and his parents followed in 1953. Mr. and Mrs. I. had no intention of leaving Germany, especially since Mrs. I. was a single child and wanted to stay on her parents' farm. However, the economic situation grew worse in the GDR. Mr. and Mrs. I. worked 12 hours a day and Mrs. I.'s parents still had to sell their property in order for the family to survive. The I.'s found it senseless to stay under such conditions and decided to move to Canada with the whole family, i. e. Mr. and Mrs. I., their two children and Mrs. I.'s parents. They left everything behind and escaped to West Berlin, leaving for Canada three months later in early 1957.

Mr. I.'s reason for emigrating was to find a place in the world where he could at least feed himself when working for 17 hours a day. He came to Canada because his family was here and because he was not interested in living in the FRG, since as a *Volksdeutscher* he was frequently mistaken for a Pole, which outraged him. Mr. I. knew of Canada only that it was big, something that appealed to him. Other than that all he wanted "was to have work, be able to sleep in peace, and feed my family."

Mrs. I. had looked at a map before coming to Canada and thought it was awful, she was afraid of the cold winters because Canada seemed to be too close to the North Pole. But now she does not regret immigrating to Alberta. She, her husband, and her father found work within three weeks of their arrival, while her mother stayed home to look after the children. Having three wage-earners and a skilled craftsman in the family allowed the I.s to build a house after they had been in the country for 18 months. Mrs. I.'s parents lived with the family for ten years and then built their own home.

Mrs. I. was the only one in the family who knew any English at all. She could read, write and speak a little bit, but could not understand a word. Nevertheless, she was very persistent in her effort to make people understand what she wanted and learned the language fairly quickly. She found employment in a factory and enjoyed the freedom of a regular working day. She was very happy to have money of her own and to be able to buy groceries with it. Although she had not wanted to come to Canada she felt comfortable from the beginning and was never disappointed or in need of anything.

Mr. I. found employment in a trade related to his training. His ignorance of the language did not create a problem since he was employed by a German and had enough German fellow workers who could translate if necessary. He learned English from watching television. In his job Mr. I. outdid everyone, because he wanted to reach a stage financially where he could live without having to work. He achieved this goal after 23 years. Mr. I. enjoyed his new life, but found the people rather too pious and missed the German *Gemuetlichkeit*, a little merriment, and dancing.

Neither parent encountered any prejudice against Germans. If some "stupid people" said something to him in that respect he countered in the same fashion. Mr. I. says he used to be a "fanatic German" and at first didn't like the idea of mixing with Canadians or Ukranians at all. It was inconceivable for him that his children would marry a non-German. Over the years he has met and become aquainted with people from other nations and found out that there are good and bad ones everywhere. He even gave his blessing to his son's marriage to a coloured woman.

Mr. and Mrs. I. are Canadian citizens, but still consider themselves German; in Mr. I.'s case despite the fact that his forefathers left Germany some five hundred years ago. However, Alberta is their home, they enjoy living here in freedom and have never considered moving back to Germany. Mrs. I has visited Germany only once to look after a sick relative, and Mr. I. doesn't see any point in going there, because all his friends live in the GDR, and he refuses to spend a penny there as he despises the communist government.

Mr. and Mrs. I. do not belong to any German clubs or organisations in Alberta. They don't have the time for that, as especially Mrs. I. is very involved with their church. Most of their social life revolves around the church, and the people there all come from a German background. Before they moved to the country a few years ago, the I.'s used to be very close friends with their Italian neighbours in the city.

At home the I.'s still cook German food and celebrate holidays in a German fashion, and Mr. I. likes to listen to German dance music and folk songs.

Self-Description

Irma sees herself as an ex-teacher for whom her loving husband and little baby "have to be the most important things in her life at the moment". She has been married for five years, and her son is one year old. She is looking forward to returning to work soon, because she does not feel comfortable being stuck at home as a full-time mother and housewife.

The other important matter in Irma's life is the church and her relationship to God. Accepting Jesus was a very positive experience in her life.

Irma feels that as an immigrant child "you have something extra above the other people, because you have another language." Speaking German to her parents gave Irma a feeling of privacy in public. As a German immigrant child, however, she sometimes encountered problems because of the war and the Jewish holocaust, and sometimes she wished she weren't German.

In regard to her future Irma does not aspire to great things anymore, because she has been disappointed too often. She describes her goals in life as follows.

> Irma: "From a religious point of view, a pleasing life to God. *Man wird nicht gerecht durch Werke, sondern nur durch Gottes Gnade; so dass man nicht auf Gottes Gnaden hin suendigt.* [37] And to be a good and faithful helpmate and a good mother and to help raise our child properly, the way I would want him to be. To do good where I can, and that's basically it, I guess."
> Gisela: "There is nothing that you want to achieve?"
> Irma: "I feel my hands are tied."
> Gisela: "With your child?"
> Irma: "Yes. And as I said, for the Germany-trip, and going into architecture, and becoming a lab-technician; it was always: no, you can't do that. And so you become disheartened and rebellious, and in the end you either give up or walk away from it all. And you can't. This is my lot in life now, and I have to make the best of it."
> Gisela: "Well, you still might be able to do things in a few years."
> Irma: "Oh yes, in terms of my son, I know he will grow up and that's okay. I am going back to work part-time for two afternoons teaching, and I am looking forward to that. But just to be able and get away to do things I wanted to do for years and years. Sometimes I almost feel like giving up because I won't get around to them anyway."
> Gisela: "So you don't think about them right now?"
> Irma: "I try not to, but I become *entmutigt* (discouraged)."

---

[37] You do not become righteous through deeds, but only through the grace of God; so that you do not sin for the grace of God.

It is Irma's dream to visit Germany and possibly live there.

Religion

Religion has always played a significant part in the life of the I.-family, but it is much more important for Mrs. I. than for her husband, and her involvement with the church has become stronger over time. Mr. I. supports the church and attends Sunday services, and he also believes that the church is very important for the upbringing of children, but he does not think it is necessary to preach the Gospel to everyone or to turn over all his belongings to the church, which his wife would do if he let her.

When the children were small Mrs. I. only went to church on Sundays with them, but at home she read biblical stories to them and they said grace at the table. She also prayed with her daughter to solve problems Irma encountered at school or with peers. For. Mrs. I. everything was easier to tolerate through faith.

Irma attended church regularly, and most of her spare-time activities revolved around the church as well. She was a member of the Young Peoples group from the age of 13 until she got married. She met her husband at the church, and in marrying him it was very important for her that he was of the same faith. Similarly, in raising her son she is very concerned that he will accept Christ at an early age.

Irma has a personal relationship with Jesus, which is between God and herself in order to atone for the evil in her. Irma is a practicing Christian, praying and reading the Bible at home, although not as much as she should.

> "I should be reading my Bible every morning to get strength for the day, but I don't. Other things come up in between, which ... But I should make time anyways."

In her daily life her belief

> "should make me meek and humble and kind and peaceful and friendly and ... but it doesn't. If I would let God work, yes. But as I said, I have a rebellious nature and sometimes I just want to do things my way, even if they don't turn out right. Whereas, if I would wait and say: yes, God, you have your will with me, then things turn out better."

Irma believes that she survived her first few years of teaching only through the grace of God, who helped her through and kept her sane, because she had to teach grade 5 and was neither trained nor had the patience to deal with younger students as she was a high school teacher.

Family

Irma's family was very close, and she cherished the fact that her parents always spent a lot of time with her, although they were quite busy.

> "They took us on holidays even when there was not much money in our family. And they strove and tried hard and were there for us first. Mum had to work, and she would come home late from work, and she would help us with our homework first and then do her work. And when we were sick, she would sit up with us all night. Things like that I cherish."

Irma's grandmother looked after the children, and Irma had to listen to her as well as to the parents. Each of these three persons had their own areas of authority where they made the decisions. Irma did not have to help very much around the house, it was more important for her parents that she did her school work.

In Irma's family everyone had the freedom to say what they think and emotions were shown quite openly. As children, Irma and her brother were punished physically, with the belt or a wooden spoon. Irma usually ran into conflicts with her grandmother; not so much with her parents. Her grandmother would discipline her for "being lippy and mouthing off". Irma only experienced one major conflict with her parents, but she cannot talk about that.

When Irma was young her family did not have much money, but she did not mind that since she had everything she needed. Irma suffered only somewhat from her parent's refusal to allow her to wear her hair or clothes according to the prevailing fashions. "They were of the opinion that they know what's best for me and that's the way it's got to be."

For Mrs. I. the most important aspects in raising her children were to prevent them from becoming egotistic, that they would care for other people and not only live for themselves, and that they would not lie. Other important points were proper behaviour, not to harm others, and to be polite to other people. The children also had to keep up in school. Mrs. I. put more emphasis on order and punctuality than Canadian parents. She thinks Canadians wanted to have an easy life and left their children more on their own.

For Mr. I. obedience was everything. He had to be obedient as a child and took many a beating for not doing what he was told. But his wife would not allow him to beat his children. She received quite a few thrashings as a child as well, and thinks it helped her in adult life, because it prevents a person from becoming stubborn or peeved. However, she believes that one must not be irascible or furious when punishing children. In the I.-family all quarrels were brought into the open and dealt with in a matter of hours.

Mrs. I. always talked to her daughter about school and prayed with her when she encountered some problems there. Mrs. I. found Irma easy to raise; "sometimes she was stubborn, but everyone is like that." Mrs. I. did not encounter any major difficulties with her daughter. She remembers that Irma suffered when she was teased by other children about her unfashionable clothes and too large shoes which were bought in order to allow her to grow into them. Mrs. I. tried to explain to her daughter why she had to wear these clothes, but was not too successful.

The I.'s took care that their children would not be badly influenced by other children. The parents as well as the grandmother acted according to the motto: Tell me who your friends are and I will tell you who you are. They always had an open house for children, but told some of them to stay away if they thought these children might steal, lie, or otherwise have a detrimental effect on the education of their daughter and son. Irma remembers that when she was younger she chose her friends according to what her grandmother's beliefs.

When Irma first got married she became very independent of her family. Later on she discovered that her parents' need to help her is much greater than her own need for help, and therefore she now accepts the support of her parents to make them feel happy. Financially she and her husband are independent. Irma is still very close to her brother and shares almost everything with him.

In raising her own child Irma will emphasise that he accepts Christ at an early age and that he respects other people as well as the property of other people. Irma wants to have open lines of communication with her son, "nothing like days on end without talking". She thinks children should only be obedient when asked to do reasonable things. Since both Irma and her husband received a good education, they would probably emphasise that for their child as well.

School and Occupation

On the whole Irma enjoyed school. She did not do too well until grade 5, because of a stuttering problem that she had developed during her family's flight from the GDR.

The problem passed and she became a good, although never a top student. Learning did not come easy to her, and she had to work hard for her marks. Initially she learned in order to please her parents, and she only realized in university that she learned for herself as well. They stressed the importance of school work and education and told her that she had to learn well so she would have a better future. Irma was not punished for bad marks, instead her mother sat down with her to study. Mr. I. left the academic education up to his wife, because she had had more schooling than he. Every day after coming home from work Mrs. I. would sit down with her children to do their homework, while Mr. I. did part of the housework instead. Mrs. I. did not want her daughter to be at the top of the class, but she always made sure Irma was at least average.

Irma got along quite well with her teachers and never had any big problems with them. Her interest in the different subjects usually depended on the teacher, the only class she enjoyed continually was Home Economics.

Irma also had her friends at school and did not encounter difficulties with her classmates, she was just one of the group. Most of the children in her school were Canadians of British descent, but she never felt any different from them.

When Irma had finished school neither Mr. nor Mrs. I. pressured her to attend university. Mr. I. thought it was a waste of time for a woman who wants to have a family, because later on she would have to stay home anyway. Mrs. I. thought that Irma should be a lab technician. Irma recalls that her parents only stressed that she should have a good job to be able to stand on her own two feet and support herself, but she was also aware of the fact that having a child at university was a very prestigious thing for an immigrant family. She would have liked to study architecture, but that was only possible in Ontario and her family would not let her go. Now she regrets that she was not more adamant in that respect. Her other choice was to become a lab technician, but she was discouraged to do so because of her many allergies. If she could start over again, she would take medication and do it anyway. Irma became a teacher giving in to her grandmother's pressure, who saw her own unfullfilled dream come true in her offspring. Once she was at university Irma regretted it, but finished because her fiance was also attending university at that time. She enjoyed part of her studies but would not go to university again.

Language

Irma is fluent in German and also speaks French. These are the two subjects she specialized in for her education degree.

As long as the grandparents lived with the I.-family, only German was spoken in the home, but afterwards the children got away with answering in English. The parents still speak German, and Mr. I. thinks it was better for him to speak German to his children, because his English was so poor that they would not have learned any language properly. Mr. and Mrs. I. sent their children to a German Saturday school so that they would be able to communicate in German in speaking and writing. Irma did not particularly enjoy attending school on Saturday afternoons, but did as she was told. Her grandmother helped her a lot with her German lessons.

Irma does not remember having any language problems when entering school, but Mrs. I. recalls that her daughter had a fairly difficult time with English. Especially when playing with other children Irma often became very frustrated when she could not make herself understood.

Both Irma and as her parents are strong supporters of bilingualism. Irma thinks that through a language one learns the intricacies of that particular culture and that makes one more accepting of other people and less prejudiced in general. Her son will certainly learn German, probably from the parents at home, since her husband is fluent in German as well.

Ethnic Identification

Irma usually identifies herself as a Canadian, because that is "a nice neutral way out". She never directly experienced any prejudice against Germans and was never confronted by other people with regard to her background. However, she never told many people that she was German either, for fear that they might say something. She was very hurt when they dealt with the second world war in History class at high school, because to her it implied that she was personally responsible for the German atrocities. No one ever said anything to her, but the way the curriculum was presented made her feel bad. She was opposed to dragging up the past, since her generation had had nothing to do with it.

German culture for Irma is celebrating Christmas Eve and singing songs around the campfire. It also means working hard and getting everything done at a certain time. In her family it meant: "Save, save, save, scrimp, scrimp (laughing). Hand-me-downs. I consider that German culture, but I'm sure in other nationalities there was the same thing."

Irma perceives two types of "typical" Germans in Alberta, the staunch one for whom Germany is everything, and the other one, who hardly speaks German and doesn't care about his background. The very staunch Germans always have their shoes polished and are very neat, the others are just like Canadians. Irma herself is somewhere in between, she is not overly tidy anymore, whereas in her grandparents' house

> "you look in there and you almost have to put on your sunglasses. Not really, I'm exaggerating, but everything is neat and has to have its place. And this is designated for that and you can't use it for anything else. There is a towel for this and a towel for that, and here you just take one."

Irma does not think that there is a Canadian culture or a "typical" Canadian.

Irma has not been back to Germany, but always wanted to go to find out for herself what it is really like instead of listening to other people's stories. She longs to see the country she only has dreams about now. Irma thinks she would like to live in Germany if she had the choice, and she would almost certainly try it if she were not married. She dreams of the nice atmosphere of a small village where you know your butcher and baker and don't have the unfriendly anonymity of department stores.

Irma's husband is of German background as well, but that did not matter to her at all, although it was important for her grandparents and her father, not so much for her mother.

Summary and Analysis

The I.-family came to Canada because they did not see any possibility of surviving in Germany. Canada was a place where they hoped to have the freedom to live according to their own ideals, which meant a "German life", hardly any different from what they were used to in Germany before the Communist government came into power. For Mrs. I. this included besides food, language, and manners, also a strict adherence to religious guidelines. The I.-family's maintenance of a German lifestyle in the home was aided by the fact that Mrs. I.'s parents stayed with them and that the grandmother had a considerable influence on the education of the children.

The interviews do not indicate that the parents were concerned at all about their children's integration with Canadians. Mr. I. calls himself a fanatic German and imposed his traditional German way of childrearing on his children, while Mrs. I. was preoccupied with raising good Christians in her understanding of this ideal. In the I.'s home not too many concessions to Canada and its culture were made. The parents and grandmother also watched closely in order that the children would not be exposed to many very different outside influences by selecting the children's friends and establishing their German Fundamentalist church as the centre of their social activities. The family stayed very close, and Irma was unable to break out and move away. She married a German of the same faith who fits well into her parents' and grandparents' picture.

Irma is not clear about how she identifies herself in terms of nationality. She says she is Canadian, "because that's an easy way out"; but she also mentions that she would like to live in Germany, which indicates a strong attachment to a German identity. It seems that Irma's idea to visit Germany and to live there has attained a symbolic value standing for her unfullfilled dreams and her unsuccessful attempts to break away from the domination of her family. When she married she became very independent of her family and presumably started living for herself, but now she finds herself caught again in the web of church and family, and the demands they place on her as a good Christian mother and wife. She describes her situation as something forced upon her, implying it would be different if she had her way. Irma gives the impression that many things in her life were forced upon her and that she cannot successfully fight them although she tries to, calling herself a very rebellious person. Irma's faith demands that she place her life in God's hands and let him guide her, which is precisely what she is unable to do. This creates a dilemma for her, because her faith has otherwise been a great support for her and her church has always been the social focus of her life.

Irma has spent most of her life living for someone else. She worked very hard in school because her parents wanted her to do well, and she went through four years of university to fullfill her grandmother's wish to become a teacher. She realized only very late that she was living for herself as well. Although sometimes rebellious, Irma was an obedient child, kept in line by the strict hands of her grandmother and father, who believed that they knew what was good for the children and did not consider it necessary to fullfill the children's wishes. Mrs. I. listened to her daughter with empathy when she had problems, but she often saw the solution in prayer, trusting that God would help, thus deferring the responsibility of solving the problem to some higher power. This pattern of problem solving seems to have been passed on to Irma as the most acceptable way, since she does not mention alternate solutions to her present difficulties. Irma still keeps up German traditions in her home, but she does so fairly unhappily and more out of a lack of alternatives open to her than out of conviction or positive emotional identification.

Irma does not blame her parents for her problems but rather cherishes the fact that they spent so much time with her as a child. They lived for her as she lived for them. Being an immigrant child has positive connotations for Irma, it makes her special and distinguishes her from other people. However, being German has a negative flavour as it tends to lead to confrontations about Germany's past. Irma tries to avoid these by not publicizing that she is of a German background. When she had to face the issue in history class she reacted with pain and anger to the way it was presented. Neither Irma nor her parents mention that they ever talked about the contents of the problem, and it seems that Irma distances herself from these events while at the same time identifying with and romanticizing other aspects of Germany that she has heard about from other people. It indicates that Irma has not taken root in Canada, her reasons for not having yet visited Germany are merely of a circumstantial nature and not based on a conviction that life is better in Canada. She has no clearly positive identification, either as a German or as a Canadian, which shows that the I.-family is still at the beginning of the process of cultural transition.

H. Julius

Introduction

Julius and I became acquainted with each other through our participation in the same sports club. When talking on a social occasion about our research I found out that his parents had immigrated from Germany and I asked him whether he would be willing to be a "subject" for my study. He was quite interested and eager to see how a German psychologist would analyse him. However, his was the one case in which I could not interview the parents. Between the time I made the appointment with Julius and the actual interview he had asked his parents whether they would speak to me and they had declared their unwillingness to do so. I went ahead and interviewed Julius despite this fact and found the interview very interesting and worthy of being included in this study. I obtained as much information as he could give me about his parents, but it has to be remembered that these are Julius' perceptions of his parents' ideas and motivations. The interview took place in Julius' apartment on a Saturday afternoon and lasted just over three hours.

History

Julius' father, Mr. J., was born in 1927 in East Prussia, where he also grew up. He was a soldier for the latter part of the war and ended up in Denmark in 1945. Afterwards he lived in West Germany, obtained his *Abitur*, and went to an agricultural school. Julius thinks his father emigrated because he didn't see much of a future in Germany, although he had a job. Mr. J. also might have wanted to get away from his circle of relatives. He was living with an aunt at that time, his father had been killed at the end of the war and his mother was put in a sanatorium. Together with a friend, Mr. J. came to Alberta in 1951.

Mrs. J. grew up in Poland, close to the German border. She was born in 1922. After completion of her *Abitur* she worked in a hospital during the war. Mrs. J. fled on a trek of wagons in 1945, 24 hours ahead of the Soviet Army. The one thing Julius knows about his mother's post-war experiences is, that she swore never to eat another turnip in her life, and he has never had one at his parents' place. After the war Mrs. J. lived in West Germany and emigrated in 1951 with her younger brother, the only other child in her family. Julius thinks she left Germany because there seemed to be no employment opportunities, and she also seemed to have itchy feet.

Mr. and Mrs. J. met in an English class in a city in Alberta and were married in 1952. They have four children, two sons born in 1954 and 1957, and two daughters born in 1961 and 1964. Julius is the second oldest. They lived on the outskirts of the city until 1966 and then moved to the country where Mr. J. had bought some land. This was about 50 km from the city.

Self-Description

Julius is a 24 year old graduate student in science, he is not married and does not have any children. He sees himself as a young man of scientific and philosophical leanings who hates to be dominated and does not believe in a life of drudgery. He attends university in the hope that this will enable him to get a more creative job.

> (If I had to describe myself to someone) "I'm not sure that I would mention right away that I have German ancestry, so to speak, because I find people tend to stereotype me; in a variety of ways, but they tend to stereotype me. So I prefer at this point to be just one of the rather wide variety of Canadians. Because that's what I feel I am. I would tell them that I have collected butterflies most of my life or what feels like most of my life. And I like the outdoors, sounds sort of like a cliche, mountain climbing and so on, and skiing. (Pause)
>
> I would perhaps try not to do it too blatantly, but if I was trying to impress a particular person, I would let a few hints drop that I was intelligent. Whether I was or wasn't, isn't that important. But I think I am."

Julius has been an outsider for most of his life, and associating this in part with his German ancestry was important for him in that he was able to put his finger on something that is a potential cause of some of his difficulties. Another set of experiences which had a large effect on his life was the period when he was between 13 and 16 years of age. At that time his father had a lot of financial troubles and the family was "quite poor, but proud". Julius describes what poverty meant to him:

> "It wasn't poverty the same way Biafran kids have poverty, of course. But it meant that I had one pair of shoes that I wore for one year; I got that pair of shoes in September and they damn well better lasted until the next June. I had about two pairs of pants, and these were carefully polished or mended, whichever the case may be, and taken care of. I felt in clothes, for example, that I could never have the down jackets that all the other kids had – *down jackets,* that was a really important thing and all I had was sort of quilted. How else did it feel to be poor? Especially as I got a little older, and say between grades 8 or 9 and 11, my only contact with the outside world was by the bus. I went to school on the bus and I came home on the bus and I was never on any teams – because my father was too busy and we didn't have any other vehicles. I certainly didn't learn how to drive, and so I was stuck out on the farm."

However, being more or less confined to the farm also allowed Julius to develop his interest in biology as he spent most of his spare time catching butterflies or doing other kinds of zoological and botanical research. This was supported by his mother and eventually led to his university studies.

When asked about his goals in life, Julius replied that he had thought about them, and that he has three goals in life.

"And these are sort of symbolic. One – I think it is very important, though these are not necessarily in order of priority – one is to love and be loved. And this is not by society, but in particular by a person. I think I am sort of looking for the perfect woman. And I understand that partly is sort of loneliness and a lot of biological and social sort of things, but also because that other person is sort of an expression, would – in the perfect state – be sort of an expression of myself. Someone who I can respect, and who will respect me. I haven't quite figured it out in my mind, so I can't articulate it that well.

Another thing is to make a mark in life. That's not necessarily to be famous, though I wouldn't mind being famous. It is to do something very well, for which I could give myself a lot of praise – a cure for cancer would be all right. But if someone else were to hand it to me and I would get famous on it, I would say: Forget it."

Gisela:"That's in terms of the scientific area?"

Julius: "No, not necessarily. Science is where my abilities seem to lie, and that's what I like to do, and I sort of get more feedback there. But I wouldn't mind being a novelist. And in the back of my mind, the idea that maybe I wouldn't mind being the person to synthesize philosophy and science, and do all – just completely impossible, but something great like that. And I am not sure how I am able to separate the praise I give myself from the praise which other people give to me. But it's got to be something which I think is good.

The third thing is quite symbolically expressed when I say "A house in the mountains". A feeling of harmony with myself and with the outside world, and this outside world is to a small extent society, but to a much larger extent nature. A sense of somewhere were I can retreat and be myself, whatever the hell that is."

Gisela: "Whatever that is – to be at peace."

Julius: "To be at peace – yes, that's an important part of it, and that interacts with making my mark in the world, that interacts with doing the things I do well, yes – working to my potential, to spout another cliche."

Gisela:"You *want* to do that. You are not doing it now, because..."

Julius: "Yes, because I'm very uncertain of myself now. I have always been very uncertain of myself, though now I'm also uncertain of myself in terms of academics as well."

Some of the major themes that dominated the interview also became apparent in Julius' self-description. His outsider status in his peer group is on the one hand connected with his emphasis on pride and independence and on the other hand with experiences of prejudice and discrimination. Academic success in school was extremely important for him, being the one way of demonstrating his abilities to himself and others. However, the most important influence in his life was his family, the way he dealt with the demands of his parents and the type of life they led.

Family

For Julius' parents the nuclear family was extremely important, it was his father's raison d'etre. Julius suspects his father wanted to re-initiate a new dynasty in a new country, and his parents had this sense of being part of an old family. Mr. J. comes from a family of great landowners and Julius grew up thinking that he came from a really noble family with real class. The J.s never associated with other Germans, because Mr. J. considered them people who would give up their honour for practical necessity, and he would never do that.

Duty was a "terribly important concept" for Julius' parents, it was Julius' duty to do this or that or to be nice. Mr. J. made the decisions in the family, his word was only second to the word of God. However, Julius thinks that his mother controlled the family through controlling his father. At home, a rule was a rule, and there did not have to be a rational basis behind it, the children were expected to obey. But Julius rebelled:

> "I purposely wasn't obedient, and my father once made a remark, that when he was just lecturing me what I shouldn't do, he said : I get the feeling you would kill me if you could. And I suddenly realized that I had been thinking just that."

Julius was spanked and cuffed a lot by his father, whereas his mother just screamed and yelled at him, and would – unlike his father – keep her grudges fora long time. His parents never praised him to his face, but "they'd always give me shit for not behaving, not being obedient." He found out, though, that they praised him behind his back.

Manners were also very important in his upbringing.

> "The other forms of etiquette that I learned were .... Well, table manners, where you put your elbow and stuff like that. But I could never figure it out, because I was so turned off with the hypocrisy which my mother so clearly demonstrated that I didn't realize until later, that what was hypocrisy was sophistication, social sophistication. She was able to manipulate people, to be charming in social settings and so on. And that's only my mother, my father is completely honest with people and his dealings with them. If somebody is an idiot, he won't talk to them. If he likes them he'll be nice and talk to them, he doesn't play games at all. But she plays more games than you can count on, and it took me a long time to finally realize, that these manners and these learnings to live in *society* was what she wanted. This is the way to behave."

Julius does not appreciate this kind of behaviour and insists that his future wife "would have to be honest in her dealings with people, in that she better say so, if she doesn't like what's happening."

Mrs. J. always made sure that her children were properly dressed for school. They did not have very many clothes, but the ones they had were of good quality and well taken care of. When Julius started earning substantial amounts of money, his parents expected him to buy his own clothes, but he just started to go around in really ragged ones. This violated their sense of what is proper and they bought him clothes.

The J. family always had supper together, and they also spent a fair amount of time together, but that was always work time on the farm. The first time they took a holiday together was when Julius was 16, and those were two day-trips. Mr. and Mrs. J. never took any vacations because of the farm, they only went away for three days on their 25th wedding anniversary.

Julius had to do quite a few chores on the farm and his parents insisted that he did his homework. Their great goal in life was that the children should become well educated. Julius perceived them as being very pushy in that respect, although they might not have been much different from other parents. His parents would pay him money for good grades. However, Julius thinks his parents were highly unsupportive in regard to his school work, because that was about the only thing he could do well, but he could never do it quite well enough for them. If he obtained 95 %, they would ask what happened to the other 5 %. They would have been delighted to help him with his school work, but he wanted to do it on his own, and be praised for it.

His parents liked Julius for doing things, being obedient etc. However, their liking ceased when he stopped doing these things. He rebelled against his parents, and in order to be more respected he would display a horrible temper at home. He screamed and hollered and smashed things around and even occasionally hit his sisters on the shoulder. In grade 9 the guidance counsellor referred him to the school psychologist to learn how to relax, and he told "this fat, horrible psychologist" a bunch of lies about his family, exaggerating the bad things. When he was almost taken to a foster home he became very scared, because he did not really want to hurt his parents, only a little bit. Fortunately he was able to stop the game before it was too late. The situation at home improved when he was in grade 10. Then he got a place of his own, a renovated shack away from the house. He was only supposed to use it as a study, but managed to turn it into a bedroom as well.

In Julius' family affection was not shown. "Nobody ever touched anyone." His family was quite uptight, and his parents never used the word or concept "love".

Julius describes his father as a very controlled person, who is "just the most amazing guy for strength", and who lost his temper only on very rare occasions. As long as Julius remembers him, he slept an average of four to five hours and worked during the rest of the time, on the farm and on a full-time job.

Julius thinks his mother didn't hold up very well under the financial pressure. She nagged her husband constantly, which Julius found very unpleasant. He describes her as running the whole gamut of negative emotions, from depression to lost temper.

Now Julius only visits his parents a few times a year and only for a few days at a time.

Julius got along all right with his sisters, who were also quite resentful of his parents, but had better ways of dealing with them. However, his older brother was quite obedient, and Julius and he had a very hateful and violent relationship, including a few brutal fights. Julius thinks his brother resents him, since in a very subtle way their parents praised Julius more because of his greater success in school. His brother is still very important for Julius in that he takes great pains in always doing the opposite of what his brother does.

Julius' parents were always suspicious of his friends. As far as he knows, his father has never had a friend in his life, and his mother occasionally has some. Julius never brought any friends home:

> "There was always an uncomfortable feeling. The other thing is that I was sort of ashamed of our place, because it wasn't such a classy place at all. It wasn't run down, it was just obviously not rich, and there were other people who were much better to do.
> Gisela: "So did they tell you not bring anyone home or did you choose not to bring people home?"
> Julius: "I think it was more a case of them. When I talked about friends, they were always suspicious: What the hell does this person want to get to know you for? What are they trying to do? My father is very paranoid, he is afraid that everybody is out to destroy him, because I think it has to do with his having troubles in business and all that. In a case like that, they are out to get you. So they were suspicious of friends. And that, together with something else, which was that I was ashamed of our home. Because of that I didn't bring anyone home."

In raising his own children it would be important for Julius to treat them as adults and answer their questions honestly, including those about sex. He would treat them as intelligent people and give positive rather than negative encouragement. He thinks they should be obedient and that the idea of chores is a good one. But it is easily overdone. People should get encouragement for things well done and not be pushed from behind.

School Experiences

School was very important for Julius, it was one of the very few outlets for his abilities. "One of the few ways in which I got praise, and it ended up becoming the way in which I measured my value as a person." He was very competitive and still has not accepted the idea of other people being more intelligent than he. It is difficult for him in graduate school now, because there are a lot of intelligent people.

In school itself, during classes, life was not enjoyable for Julius, because he couldn't answer questions very well and felt he was often the last one to pick up a concept. But he received good grades in exams, which was encouraging. He was always at the top of the class, and consistently had the best marks in the whole school between grades 5 and 12. The only two subjects he was not exceptionally good at were French and Phys Ed. He just couldn't be top in French, no matter what he did, and he lacked the opportunity to develop his motor-coordination skills because the sport teams practised after school when he had to take the bus home. Julius put only a token effort into extra-curricular activities, since he had heard it would look good on an application for university.

The thing he liked least about school were the other kids, "morons who just bugged the hell out of him and never left him alone". Julius was always on the periphery of groups at school, not because he was a "staunch loner who didn't give a damn", but because he was never allowed in. Now he thinks it might be because his temperament was not one that could be satisfied following a crowd of kids. He was picked on a lot for receiving good marks "and all that kind of thing". In Junior High he was openly persecuted by his classmates, because he was different, obtaining good grades and not exhibiting the same sort of gang temperament as the other children. The only good friend he had was a boy whom he met at a science fair in grade 9, who shared the same interests and encouraged Julius a lot, although they didn't see each other very often.

Julius got along very well with some of his teachers and had running battles with others. He remembers some outstanding ones who always gave him encouragement when he did well, and that is why he continued on. In high school his math and biology teachers were very important influences on him, and his social science teacher radically changed his outlook on life by giving him "far-out" books to read about the value of school and things like "Zen and the Art of Motorcycle Maintenance". This teacher would point out books that were unfailingly interesting to Julius, who began to rethink his attitude of tying his ego to his marks.

Ethnic Identification

Julius had quite a few negative experiences related to his German background. He was called a "Kraut" at school, which offended him very much. He was equated with the German characters in "these damn shows like Hogan's Heroes", where the Germans were depicted as a variety of uptight, boorish people who were all idiots. There were other German immigrant children in Julius' school, and some of them even had an accent. But somehow they were not stereotyped as German like he was, somehow they were *not different*. Julius thinks that a lot of the resentment he experienced came indirectly because his parents didn't get along with anyone, and that was probably filtered down to the children of the other people.

Julius is very aware of being labelled a German, and he hates it. He doesn't know why he is labelled so easily. He resents very much being called a German, or being dealt with as a class of people of any sort. His parents never felt German per se either, they were *East Prussians*, and the East Prussians were the ones who had a true sense of honour and discipline etc.

Julius is Canadian more than anything else, but he isn't completely Canadian. He identifies with the freeness of Canadian society, "where you don't feel constrained by all these social conventions". However, he still values the emphasis Europeans place on education and on speaking several languages. He also thinks his parents' background was influential on him having broader interests than the average science student. He would prefer to stay in Canada if he gets a job here, because of the feeling of freedom he enjoys here. But he would also go to Brazil or Australia or Europe if he could get a job there.

German culture to Julius means getting presents at Christman Eve, having willow twigs with painted eggs at Easter, and speaking German at home. He associates classical music with CULTURE and Europe, because Europe had CULTURE and North America didn't.

Canadian culture to him means eating your food with your fork in your right hand and speaking English with a Canadian accent – whatever that is. "And being able to afford and to buy and to wear and to flaunt a down jacket. That was Canadian." Another Canadian characteristic is to do things just to be able to say you have done them.

Language Experiences

Julius' German is quite good now, he understands just about everything and speaks it fairly correctly as well. His parents did not send him to a German language school, rather they taught him themselves. It was important for them that he grew up bilingual, because they felt that this would help him later. Julius is very happy that his parents did that, but as a child he was the one in the family who refused to speak German, from about grade 9 onwards.

Julius spoke only German when he started school, but he does not recall this causing any difficulties.

He agrees wholeheartedly with bilingualism. It is useful for travelling, in science, or any intellectual pursuit. It is also important for personal development in pointing out to you very bluntly that there are other modes of expressing yourself. Julius would like his children to speak at least one other language besides English. At this point in time, considering the political and economic situation of the world, he would probably choose French.

Pride and Independence

Pride in oneself, one's family and one's achievements as well as independence were amongst the strongest values of Julius' parents. He himself takes great pride in "being the one person in my circle of aquaintances who never takes shit from anybody", be it a friend or a professor. This was one of his father's strong values, and his mother espoused it too, but Julius isn't sure how much she really believes it. His mother's pride was derived from coming from a good family.

> "My mother in particular kept reminding us that we came from a good family. I didn't know what the hell a good family was, because nobody at school ever talked about that. No, seriously, in Canada you don't have good families. It is sort of perhaps a family with a distinguished history, and of course an important part of that is that you are at least middle class. And so they were all very proud of me when I did well in school, and kept reminding me: Oh yes, well you come from a good family, you should."

The other part of pride was independence, in that the family owned their own land.

Julius always took great pride in solving his academic problems himself. His mother would have helped him and would even have done most of the work, but it was a matter of pride for Julius to do things on his own. When he had difficulties at school, he made sure that he solved them himself, and it only happened once or twice that unavoidably his parents were called in. He tried to make decisions independently of his parents, and it was a struggle for him to become a scientist despite their wish that he should do so:

> "They figured I was going to grow up to be a nice young scientist, which bugged the hell out of me until I thought to myself that it takes a lot of guts to go against somebody's opinion, but it takes even more to do what you want to do even though people are encouraging you to do so."

Julius put himself through university, without financial assistance from his parents. He worked as a labourer during the summer and received a number of scholarships.

Summary and Analysis

The J.s settled in Canada regarding it as a place where they could try to re-initiate and perpetuate their family traditions of the Prussian upper class. Mrs. J.'s ambitions for Julius were sustained by the powerful myth that the J.s are the last in a line of a good, old, and noble family, and thus should aspire to something better than Canadians or common Germans. At home Julius was modelled after his parents' cultural ideal, and it seems that they made no attempt, nor had any intention of facilitating his emotional or social integration into Canadian society. In becoming a young scientist and by being proud and independent, Julius fullfilled major parts of his parents' mission, however reluctant he was to please them.

Growing up as a child of German immigrants is associated with difficulties and negative experiences for Julius. He relates his problems in getting along with his peers to his German background and still objects vehemently to being called a German. It is doubtful that the fact that Julius' parents are German is the sole or even major reason for his continuing difficulty in being accepted as one of the group by his classmates, since he reports that there were other German immigrant children in his school who were well integrated. But Julius' first experiences as an outsider are marked by being discriminated against as a "Kraut", which he equates with "German idiot". Most likely, his angry reaction only reinforced the teasing of the other children, and the game escalated to a point at which Julius was branded as "the German".

Julius does not mention whether he discussed these problems with his parents or not, but it is obvious that even if he did, they did not succeed in helping him to solve the matter in a way satisfactory to him. He could not shrug it off and be content that he knew better and that the other children were ignorant of the real facts, and he did not oppose them physically and win; rather he chose to prove his self-worth by doing well in school. There are several reasons for his concentration on the academic part of school: it was an area where he showed some potential anyway, his options to participate in athletic or other after-school activities were rather limited because he did not have a ride home, and last but not least it was one of his parents' most important desires that he succeed in school.

The rewards for Julius' academic efforts did not meet his expectations. The good marks he received neither facilitated his social integration at school, where, on the contrary, they served as another reason to stigmatize him as an outsider, nor did they produce the reaction he desired from his parents, that is direct praise. Only his teachers gave him positive recognition and praise which kept him afloat and gave him the incentive to carry on the hard work.

Julius struggled on two fronts, at school and at home, trying very hard to gain recognition and acceptance on *his* terms, which his peers and parents denied him. It seems that he was too proud or stubborn to interpret anything but direct praise as a sign of appreciation. At school the acknowledgement by his teachers made the situation tolerable, whereas Julius resorted to more drastic measures at home, terrorizing the family with temper-tantrums to make his presence known and keep the attention of his parents.

Julius is very bitter about his parents and seems to blame especially his mother for the tense situation at home. He almost reluctantly admits that she showed great interest in him and his work, and he does not trust her motives and discounts her actions. Julius' feelings for his father are not as clear, a streak of admiration can be detected. However, he does not forgive his parents for depriving him of the opportunity to give love and be loved in return, which has become one of his major goals. Similarly his yearning for a harmoniuos life indicates that he was quite unhappy creating havoc at home, and that it was more an act of desperation than rage. On the other hand, his report shows at the most an intellectual understanding of his parents' situation, he does not display any empathy for them.

Due to his parents' social isolation and his geographical immobility brought about by his parents' financial troubles, Julius was prevented from possibly seeking out a support group outside of school, and he led a fairly solitary life, spending his spare time exploring nature and in intellectual endeavors.

Julius has not fully come to terms with his family background and the role that German ancestry plays in it. As described above, he rejects many things associated with it, but he also acknowledges and displays some of his parents' values. His pursuit of excellence in his work is a reflection of the hard work demonstrated by his father and of the attitude that it is not enough to do something, but that it needs to be done well. He carries it even further in that it is not enough to be good, but that he should be the best.

Julius values the emphasis his parents put on a good and broad education and would give the same to his children, although in a different way.

He is a very proud person and will speak out against anyone if he feels treated unfairly, and he seeks to be independent in intellectual and economic matters.

For Mr. and Mrs. J. the nuclear family was of utmost importance and they emphasised the togetherness of the family mainly through shared work for a common goal, i. e. the well-being of everyone. The J.s tried to prepare their children for a better future, according to their ideas of what that was: they taught them proper manners and how to behave in society, emphasised the value of education, instilled in them pride in their heritage, and taught them a second language, German. However, they were unsuccessful in satisfying Julius' immediate emotional needs.

For Julius the culture conflict is not resolved, and thus the family's process of cultural transition is not completed; the responsibility for change rests with the children, as the parents have isolated themselves from the outside world. Julius' conflict is reflected in his seemingly contradictory goals of making a mark in life vs living in peaceful harmony, as well as in his insecurity of how to behave in school: to show off and be the best vs being average but one of the group.

I. Karl

Introduction

Karl had obtained one of my requests for respondents in his church and volunteered to talk to me. His parents also agreed to an interview, although there were some problems in finding a time when they were both free for a few hours since they both had very busy schedules. The interviews were conducted on weeknights in Karl's and the K.'s home respectively. I spoke with the parents in German and with Karl in English.

History

Mrs. K. was born in 1922 in a city in Poland. She grew up there, completing the 13 years of higher school with the *Abitur* during the war. Afterwards she received a business training. Her family was German, they always spoke German at home, and her immediate environment was mostly German, her school, the church, the shops and the newspapers they read. However, in the later years at school she was required to speak Polish and thus became fluently bilingual. At the end of the war her family fled to West Germany and then emigrated from there to Canada.

Mr. K. was born in 1919 and grew up in Poland, in an agricultural area close to the German border. He completed the regular eight years of school and then worked on the farm as well as starting an apprenticeship as a butcher. He was drafted into the German army in 1940, was a soldier for five years and spent another five years as a prisoner of war in the Soviet Union. After his release he lived in West Germany for one year and then emigrated to Canada, following his family.

Mr. and Mrs. K. met in Alberta and were married in 1952. They have five children, four sons and one daughter. Karl, the oldest, was born in 1956.

Parents' Adjustment

Mrs. K. came to Canada in 1949, together with a brother and a sister; her parents followed later. She left West Germany because there she was always a refugee, without much hope for a good job or a good dwelling. Besides that, it had been a long-time dream of her father's to emigrate. A relative in Alberta sponsored the family. They worked on a farm for a year to fulfill the immigration contract and then moved to the city. Mrs. K. did not know very much about Alberta, but had no difficulty adjusting to the new country. She stayed with people from the same denomination who were very friendly and took her along to all the Young Peoples' events at the church. As she had worked as an interpreter for the American Military Government in Germany, her English was very good, and she found employment as a school secretary in the city.

When Mr. K. returned from captivity, one of his brothers had already emigrated to Canada, and one after the other the whole family went. Mr. K. had a job in West Germany and was not all that excited about emigrating, but came to Alberta to be with his family. He did not know any English when he arrived and it was difficult in the beginning. He had to listen very carefully. But he found a job in a trade at once through his skillfullness and ability to do any handicraft. He still works for the same employer, being well regarded for the quality of his work.

Mrs. K. met her future husband at bible school, shortly after he had arrived in Canada. Most of their spare time was spent within the church community, which was still German speaking at that time and adhered to most of the customs they were used to from home, which made them feel comfortable from the first day. They hardly missed anything from their homeland; Mrs. K. noticed only that the selection of furniture was rather limited, it was either red velvet or green velvet. Similar restrictions applied to the choice of clothes. But since her family had lost everything during the war, her material situation would have been equally harsh in Germany, having to start all over again.

Upon arrival in Canada, Mrs. K. found it really pleasing that the people around her were so relaxed and merry, while she herself was still under the psychological pressure of the war, fearing that bombs would start dropping again any day.

The K.s did not experience much prejudice, only Mr. K. was exposed to some German baiting by fellow workers when there had been a war movie on television the night before. He just didn't listen to that. He also encountered some envy because he was so hard-working and got ahead, but this was true for non-German immigrants as well.

The K.s feel at home in Canada, they took out Canadian citizenship as soon as they could and now consider themselves German Canadians. They still like Germany and on a recent visit they were impressed because everything was so clean and neat. However, they also found that people there live in great fear of the future. The thought of moving back to Germany has never occurred to them. All their friends and relatives are here, and

Mr. K. has a good job, earning more here than he would in the same position in Germany. The K.s also think that their children have better opportunities here, especially in regard to a university education, and they feel that their children appreciate being Canadians and having these opportunities.

In terms of ethnic affiliation, the K.s only belong to their German church in Alberta, they don't have time for any other German clubs, and they are not used to clubs from home anyway. They still celebrate the Christmas season the German way, and Mrs. K. usually cooks German food, but has switched to Canadian holiday meals, cooking turkey instead of goose.

Self-Description

Karl is a 25 year old engineer, has been married for three years and his wife is expecting their first child. He views himself as a normal young man with a better than average education. Job satisfaction and happiness are very important parts of Karl's self-concept, since he believes that always struggling or fighting doesn't help one's self-image. Being a Christian has helped him a lot in that respect, it has given him self-confidence.

An important occurrence in Karl's life was the paper route he had during grade 9 and 10.

> Karl: "That did two things, not just two but quite a few. One: it brought a little bit of income. Two: carrying the papers was a little bit of exercise, too. Whether that helped to develop muscles is hard to say, but it worked for friends, so that was one thing I was going to try. Also, it gave you a little bit of responsibility. I did an awful lot of thinking, surprisingly enough, on the paper route. It's nothing that took any concentration or anything, sometimes I would walk by a house and I would end up with extra papers at the end of the run and I couldn't remember who I had missed."
> Gisela: "That was somehow important for you."
> Karl: "Yes, I think so."

Meeting his wife was a very positive experience for Karl. He met her at a church activity when he was in grade 10, and although their relationship went off and on, it satisfied some of his need to be able to talk to a girl. There weren't any others around, and his sister was too young. Karl started dating his wife seriously when they were in university.They were married after they had both graduated. It was important for him that she was a Christian and came from a German background as well, which for him means she can understand the way he thinks, get along with his parents and grandparents, and prepare food to his liking, i. e. Geman meals.

Regarding his goals in life, Karl would like to progress in his job, but would not push himself to jump over the top of people to achieve this. He wants to be financially secure and be able to have the time and resources for leisure. In a nutshell, he desires a good homelife, health, happiness and security.

Karl respects authority and is disturbed when people demonstrate disregard for other people or a lack of orderliness, even in small things like running across a walk-light. However, if he is asked to do something contrary to his own understanding he will try to reason it out with the person in authority.

Religion and Security

Church and religion play an important role in Karl's life. Religion has become especially significant in his attempt to attain security, which he defines as the absence of turmoil. He fears urgent problems and things over which he has almost no power, and his belief has helped him to overcome such situations as well as giving him self-confidence in that he does not need to question "what we all are doing this for."

Karl gives the following description of how religion has been important for him.

> Karl: "In terms of establishing values, morals. It has also been important in terms of contacts within the church. It has been important in terms of self-acceptance, in terms of security. Again, security in what I was referring to before.
> I feel, though, that I am not living up to my full potential as a Christian, and in some areas I have to work on it. For example, in terms of getting to know people better, getting to know their needs. Being able to help them out there as the opportunity arises. Be able to talk to them about my beliefs and just share with them. Be able to help them out. So it's sort of a sensitivity to other people."
> Gisela: "You also mentioned self-acceptance, that your belief has helped you with that."
> Karl: "Yes, that point is a little weaker in that I think during the stage of growing up there is a period where you are changing quite rapidly and try to figure out who you are. But I think because of the knowledge that we have, in that we have a purpose in life, that there is an after-life, and that there aren't just dos and don'ts , but there are rewards. That has eliminated a lot my questioning. We were given tools for finding out, getting the answers, let's say what are we going to do in this situation. And the various tools, check up an appropriate portion of the scripture, whether you find it yourself, or say a pastor gives it to you. To pray about it or get advice. When I said pray about it, to be exact, God intervenes, can answer your question: yes, no, maybe wait. You are given these tools to answer your questions."

One instance when Karl used these tools was in his choice of a job. He had two offers and accepted one of them because he believed that God had sent him a sign in form of a letter of acceptance for it, which arrived on a day he happened to be home, just before he would have taken the other job.

Religion is also of prime importance in the life of Karl's parents and in their children's education. They pray before meals and try to have regular devotions at home. On Sundays they attend two services, and their children are in the youth groups at church. All of the K.-children "accepted Christ in a voluntary decision after reaching the understanding". Most of Mr. and Mrs. K.'s friends are from their church, and all have a German background. They haven't made any Canadian friends, because the Canadians' life style is quite different, they drink and smoke. In recent years Mrs. K. has been employed part-time by her church and is engaged in many volunteer activities as well.

Family

For Mr. and Mrs. K. their family is most important, and they do everything to help their children progress. They raised them in the manner they were used to from home, speaking German to them and taking them to church every Sunday. It was taken for granted that the children would obey and would not lie, as well as do their homework and practice their instruments. Mrs. K. was not very strict and didn't have any reason to be. Since she and her husband were already older when they started a family, they didn't get upset about little things. When the children did not want to do what they were told, the parents listened to them and gave in if the children had good reasons. The K.s did not punish their children very much, Karl was spanked only once when he started biting his younger brother. Usually he was quite obedient, a very happy, quiet and relaxed child.

Karl recalls that the children received most of their instructions regarding the home from their mother. She tried to put up charts designating everyone's chores, but that never worked for very long. The big issue between Karl and his parents was how late he could stay up. Other than that the conflicts at home were limited to squabbles with his siblings, when everyone tried to make sure they got an equal share.

The K.s went on a family holiday every year, usually camping in the mountains. The other activities they did together as a family included sharing their meals, going to church on Sundays, and visiting relatives. Both parents spent a lot of time with their children, going skating with them in winter or to the lake in summer.

Karl thinks his family is fairly close, although not as close as some others he knows; the children especially seem to take the family for granted and squabble a lot. Nowadays Karl sees his parents at least once a week at church, and he still relies on his father for advice and to borrow tools, but is financially independent and receives his emotional comfort from his wife.

A good education for·their children is very important for the K.s. Mrs. K. especially helped her children with school work, although Karl did not need it. But he welcomed her support, because she was not insistent. Karl only talked about school at home when he was asked, which Mrs. K. did regularly She also went to all the meetings with the teachers. University had always been a long-term goal for Karl, but his parents did not pressure him. It was just the next logical step after school for him. Nevertheless, Mr. and Mrs. K. had hoped that he would go, after seeing that he learned well. Two of their other children also attended university, one is still in school, and the other went to a technical college, although the parents would have liked him to attend university as well.

The K.-children could bring their friends home, and all of them did. Most of the time Mrs. K. also knew the mothers of her children's friends. Karl did not bring his friends home as often as his brothers and sister, feeling his friends might not fit in as well because of his different home situation in regard to food, the language, and praying before meals. He felt uneasy about this until his friends came to know and accept his home and family. His parents did not influence his choice of friends at all. Until he entered high school he spent his spare time with friends from school, afterwards he associated more with friends from church, with whom he went hiking and camping.

School

School was very important for Karl, he liked being there, and it was a secure place. He especially enjoyed kindergarten, having many happy memories from that time. In terms of academic work, grade 5 and 6 were turn-around years for him, having a male teacher for the first time and really picking up on science. Thenceforth he was a lot more conscientious about his school work and always kept his marks above average, usually being amongst the top students. To stay there, he had to work very hard during his high school years and all through university, disliking some of the pressure involved in doing well. His favourite subjects were math, science, and music.

Karl did not have any problems with his teachers; they complained only about his bad handwriting and lack of neatness. He usually got along well with his classmates, too, with the exception of junior high. He remembers that age as a very awkward one and as a very negative time in his life, because he ended up us one of those persons who tend to get picked on. He thinks that one of the reasons he was singled out was his refusal to fight back or to talk and behave the way the other children did. It just wasn't in him to fight back, he tried it once and it seemed such a silly affair. Besides, the chances were that he would lose the fight, because there were more on the other side. In high school none of these problems persisted, he had his group of aquaintances there. He enjoyed playing in the school band for three years, and also participated in the debating club to improve his speaking abilities. However, he left this after a year because the teacher put too much emphasis on winning.

Most of Karl's spare time was taken up with his studies, he also read a great deal, fiction and non-fiction. The only other regular activity he engaged in was the youth group at his church.

Karl shares his parents' belief that schooling and a good education are very important for a person. He feels that one should definitely have grade 12, and after that some additional training according to one's inclination and capabilities.

Language

When the children were small, the K.s spoke German at home and read German books to their children. Mrs. K. also read the popular English stories to them so that they would know about them as well. She sent Karl to the English kindergarten to ensure he knew English upon entering school. Karl cannot remember not knowing English at all. Nevertheless, he thinks his fluency in English might be slightly handicapped by his German background, because he finds that people have a puzzled look on their face when he talks, and he often has to repeat himself or clarify things. This might also just be a personality trait, since people don't pick up that he comes from a non-Canadian background. In writing he has problems with English sentence structure, but his language or verbal abilities were no worse than those of the other boys in school.

Mr. and Mrs. K. took their children to a German Saturday school, which the children found tiresome, since they would have preferred to play at home. The parents insisted, however, since they wanted to give their children the opportunity to be bilingual, knowing the advantages from their own youth in Poland. Karl did not enjoy going to the German Saturday school, he still thinks it was a waste of time. The teachers were boring and he would much rather have watched cartoons on television.

However, he thinks it is advantageous to be bilingual; a second language tends to affect one's outlook on things, and one is able to understand another person in another language from another country. Karl understands everyday common German and can stumble along speaking it. He now speaks English to his parents, while they still speak German to each other.

He would like his children to be able to speak German. They would probably have to learn it in the home, mainly from his wife who speaks German very well. He does not want to truck them off across town to a German bilingual school, and would rather send them to a French bilingual programme close by.

Ethnic Identification

Karl considers himself a German Canadian because of his fresh German roots, but intends to spend the rest of his life in Canada, for the time being in Alberta. He never experienced any prejudice because of his German background, people only made fun of his last name, forming various contractions of it. His parents are not aware of him having had any problems either, his mother thinks he might have been teased because of his language, since he started refusing to speak German at home.

Karl has visited Germany once with a friend, and he was surprised that it wasn't all that much different from Canada, there were still some forests left. German modernisation and efficiency, e.g. the train system, made a good impression on him. He does not have many relatives in Germany and was prepared for his trip not by his parents but through a university course.

As far as his cultural heritage goes, Karl doesn't fully understand what German culture is, because so little of it was carried over. For him it consists basically of the cooking, which he prefers to all other types of food. It puzzles and bothers him a bit that there are hardly any German traditions alive in Canada, that the immigrants threw them out. He is referring especially to neighbourhood shops and neighbourhood types of gathering occasions, and feels that there is something missing here. Karl does not have any contact with the German clubs in town.

Karl sees German immigrants in Canada as hard-working and slightly aggressive people, who are usually well regarded, encountering problems only when they take the hard-working attitude a bit too far. The second generation is already very much like the other Canadians, maybe still a bit harder working. He regards Canadians as very similar to Americans, a bit quieter and not so boisterous.

Summary and Analysis

Within the K.-family a cultural transition occurred from the first to the second generation, starting with the parents who adopted some Canadian customs and who were knowledgeable of what was expected of Canadian children when they entered school. The K.s settled and established a home for their family in Alberta where they have the freedom to live according to their religious beliefs. Mr. and Mrs. K.'s main concern in raising their children was that they should become God fearing Christians and also fit in well with their Canadian peers. The parents tried to ensure that their children would not encounter difficulties based on cultural, i. e. German vs Canadian, differences by deliberately exposing them to experiences of Canadian children.

For Karl, being a son of immigrants meant that his family did things differently at home, they spoke another language, ate different foods, and prayed before meals. Outside the home no one noticed that Karl was not like any other Canadian, because his mother had taken care that he would fit in with his peers by sending him to an English kindergarten and familiarizing him with Canadian stories, as she knew from her experience as a school secretary what was common knowledge amongst Canadian children. Karl only noticed that his parents were different when he visited his friends' homes, and then he became uneasy about bringing his friends to his place, because he was afraid of their reaction. However, his fears were never substantiated as the other children accepted and liked his family.

As Karl never experienced any prejudice against Germans and since his parents never displayed any characteristics that caused difficulties for him, he has a positive attitude towards his German background. He identifies himself as a German Canadian because of his fresh roots, but feels he does not know enough about German culture to be really proud of it. At a time when it has become acceptable and even quite fashionable in Alberta to take pride in one's cultural heritage, Karl is searching for his roots, and it bothers him to find very few visible and distinct manifestations of German culture in Alberta, despite the fact that there are so many people of German origin in the province.

It seems that he would like to be able to point to something concrete that he can identify with his German background.

Karl's parents maintained the German language and their lifestyle centred around their church, which, for them, is the essential part of their German culture; this is what they grew up with in Poland. Karl cherishes this, he has married a woman of the same background and faith so that he can continue the home life he is used to without conflicts, but for him it is not a sufficient explanation of his heritage and origin. Since he is very much oriented towards emotional security and stability his perceived ignorance of German culture creates a source of disturbance for him.

As a child Karl was able to integrate two different ways of life – that of his home and that of his Canadian school environment – with hardly any conflicts, due to his parents' child rearing practices. Both Mr. and Mrs. K. have first hand experience of growing up in a German family in another country, in their case Poland, and thus were able to anticipate and alleviate potential problems for their children. They were also comparatively old when they started a family and did not feel the need to assert their control over their children any more than necessary, but listened to them to understand their point of view.

Karl has become a Canadian, although maybe not one of the mainstream variety, as he is a member of a Fundamentalist Protestant sect, which observes moral traditions that differ in certain aspects from those of non-religious people or members of the establishment churches. It is difficult to separate the religious from the cultural traditions as some of them overlap due to the origin of the sect, but it seems that Karl has retained mainly those religious practices of his parents that are similar to those of Canadians of the same faith. As far as "purely" cultural aspects go, Mr. and Mrs. K. insisted only that the children learned German, but Karl does not practice it anymore.

The K.-family has changed from a German (Volksdeutsche) Christian family to a Canadian Christian family over two generations. Karl's slight confusion in regard to his ethnic identity is grounded in the inherent impossibility of separating cultural from religious traditions. He practices religious traditions within the support group that his church provides, which still resemble German practices in their form (i. e. particular celebrations), but are Canadian in content, i. e. the language is English, the topics concern

Canadian experiences, and the leisure activities are the same as those that other Canadians engage in. Within a generation the K.-family changed so that they blend in with one part of Alberta society, and any further change will most likely occur as part of societal change of this particular group.

J. Ray

Introduction

Mr. and Mrs. R. had been asked by a friend to participate in my study, and they and their son Ray were willing to talk to me. The interviews were conducted on weeknights in their respective homes, both in English, as this is the language they most frequently speak. However, when I talked to the parents after the interview – about sports and recreational activities –, we slowly slid into German which came to dominate the conversation at the end.

History

Mrs. R. was born in 1927 in a city in northern Germany, and she is the oldest of eight children. She finished the regular eight years of school and apprenticed as a secretary during the last years of the war, finding a good job afterwards.

Mr. R. was born in 1931 in the same city. He was too young to be drafted into the army during the war. He completed the academic high school, received a journeyman training in telecommunications, and was employed in a good position. However, he felt he was stagnating there and saw two options open for himself: either to go to university and obtain an engineering degree or to gain some experience oversees. He chose the latter and came to Canada in 1954. By that time he had known Mrs. R. for seven years, and they agreed that she would follow him if he liked it there. She arrived six months later, and due to immigration regulations they had to get married immediately. They have two sons, Ray is the older one and was born in 1956, his brother is one year younger.

Parents' Adjustment

Before Mr. R. came to Canada he had read quite a bit about it, and he chose to go to Alberta because there were fewer people than in the east and it had more sunshine than Vancouver. He rode his motorbike across Canada to get to know the country. Mr. R. found employment in his field almost at once in the city. He knew some English from school, but had a tough time in the beginning when he had to deal with the public as part of his job.

Mrs. R. arrived in January and thought it was really great in Alberta, because it was so bright and sunny though cold. She found the people very tolerant and friendly, accepting her for what she was. Mrs. R.'s English was practically non-existent when she came, she learnt it working in a hospital as a nurse's aide. In order to learn English the R.s used to go to movies and sit through them five times in a row. The language was really the only problem they had here. They felt inadequate having complex thoughts and not being able to express them due to a lack of vocabulary.

Jobwise Mr. R. did much better in Canada than he had expected, he is now a supervisor of engineers. The R.s are outdoors people and they took regular vacations to the mountains from the first year on. They love the weather here, they enjoy the fresh air when canoeing or skiing. The only thing Mrs. R. really missed here was the opera, since her father had been a musician and she had been a regular concert goer from the time she was eleven years old. Mr. R. missed the music part on the FM radio more. He was already a recording buff in those days, and all they had in Alberta were AM stations that cut into the music all the time, thus making recording a nuisance.

Mr. and Mrs. R. now consider themselves Canadian, and Canada as their home. They would only say they are German when asked by locals who want to know where they were born. Most of their friends are Canadians from a non-German background, but they also still have some German friends whom they met 25 years ago. Quite a few of their friends are British immigrants. The R.s don't belong to any German clubs, they have been to them a few times but feel that they don't have anything in common with the people there.

In their home the R.s have retained the German way of cooking and of celebrating Christmas. They also maintain a certain standard of neatness, fussiness, and cleanliness.

> Mr.R.: "We sometimes drive our kids up the wall. They were embarrassed sometimes that our living-room was so neat looking. Remember that, when our younger son was saying..."
> Mrs.R.: " He was dating a girl who wasn't so neat. And any time he brought her home I had to make my living-room messy. I put all the pictures crooked, and the lampshades. The pillows were on the floor; and then he came in. It didn't quite look right."
> Mr.R.: "But it was too neat."
> Mrs. R.: "We can't really be Canadian, we are still so German."

Another German characteristic that the R.s have retained is organisation, and that rubbed off on their sons as well, they are both very organized. Similarly, the boys are as outspoken as their parents, something which Mrs. R. regards as very un-Canadian.

Mr. R. thinks he and his wife have very high standards in insisting on doing a job well once you have taken it on. Once he has committed himself to something he will move heaven and earth to get it done. Knowing this, he is very careful not to get involved too much. The R.s don't want to support the German reputation of "bloody Germans, whatever they touch they do well", because they do not want to be the target of subtle envy.

Mrs. R. finds that Germans love to talk about their work, whereas it is a taboo for Canadians to talk about their work while socializing. She is more interested in her jobs and more concerned about them than Canadians, and she also believes Germans exhibit a greater degree of loyalty to their company.

Mr. and Mrs. R. have different feelings about Germany. For Mrs. R. it is still "home" as well, whereas for Mr. R. Alberta is the only home. However, Mrs. R. can't take it anymore when Germans are so critical about others, she much prefers the tolerance of Canadian people. It also upsets her that visitors from Germany don't pay compliments to the good things they find here, be it just the good summer weather or the friendly people all over.

Self-Description

Ray is a twenty-five year old tradesman in the field of telecommunications. He has been married for three years, and the couple's wish for children has as yet been unfullfilled.

Ray describes himself as a very quiet person, "the kind of guy who hates to go out somewhere to a party, but who has a hell of a lot of fun once he gets dragged out". He is quite shy, but trying to open up now.

Ray is a very athletic person, he used to ski and paddle a lot, now he plays hockey in the wintertime and enjoys riding his motorcycle in the summer, for both touring and racing. He also likes to read books, especially about the second world war, which fascinates him.

One of the worst moments in his life was being notified that he had to rewrite an exam during his apprenticeship, and passing the rewrite was a very happy moment. He was quite glad to finish school, but even more happy when he had completed his four year apprenticeship.

Ray's goal in life is just to be happy with his wife. It is important for him that he enjoys his work:

> "I find: I wake up in the mornings and it gets tough to wake up in the mornings, then I know something is wrong. So far I have been working for this company for about six years, and I have just changed sections of jobs, both in the same company, but different departments. It was a bit rough at first, but I still enjoy my work, I look forward to it every day."

Ray finds it is something special to grow up as a child of immigrants, because one gets to see a different side of life by observing how the relatives from Europe act.

Family

Ray's parent's are very much into outdoor activities, and so the whole family frequently went on canoe or ski trips. They also went on a vacation together every year. At home everyone was occupied with their respective hobbies, more or less doing their own thing. Ray and his brother are very close friends, they rarely fight, although Ray finds his brother is not a very easy person to get along with. One has to get used to him. The two boys did a lot of things together, they built model airplanes and they have been playing rock music together for the past twelve years, even producing their own record.

Ray's mother did not insist on anything, "she was pretty good". She was just like a typical mother who tucked her children in at night and sometimes gave them a hug. Ray never had to make his own bed or wash dishes, but he had to work in the yard, digging the garden etc.

Ray's father was very strict, however, and the boys "would always get hell for not cleaning up". Unlike North American kids, they were not grounded in the house for doing something wrong, rather they were kicked out, no matter what the weather was like. Mr. R. knows a little bit about everything and he shared his knowledge with his sons. He always insisted that they did things properly, and he would show them and explain why, for example how to hold an axe when chopping wood. When Ray did something improperly, his father got mad and yelled at him, but this never lasted very long and was forgotten the next day. But Ray just never liked it when his father "gave him hell" in front of someone else.

> "I don't like that, but that is just the way he is. I won't tell him to change, because I still respect him. So I'm not going to change his life now. But one of the first things I said, I made a promise to myself that I would never give someone hell in front of someone else. I will take them off to the side, and tell them quietly. Or when I get home, it won't be quietly."

At home Ray's father and brother are constantly arguing with each other. That is one of the reasons why Ray is so quiet, "because this has been going on forever". He makes a point of not entering the arguments.

Ray's father never showed his emotions much, but Ray could tell by his face when he was really happy or appreciated something.

Ray thinks his parents are very conservative in buying things, they do not spend any more money than necessary and they don't buy expensive goods. He disagrees with them on this issue and had a little argument with them about it.

> "Like, my parents live a very nice life, they don't buy something fancy. My dad buys a car and he buys a Dodge or something like that. He will plan on keeping it for twelve years. But I told him straight out, you only live once. I might say live a little bit longer and buy something a little bit fancier and have little bit more fun. Maybe even buy a sports car. Like, I have a 6.000 dollar motorbike which is strictly for fun. My dad would never do that. He certainly has the money to do it, he probably has lots in the bank. It's nice to have some in the bank, but you can't just be sitting there doing nothing. You have to get out and enjoy. You only live once."

Mrs. R. points out that whatever the parents did in raising their sons they did very consciously. They brought them up to be self-sufficient, and since the parents live a very disciplined life, they trained their children in this manner as well. She never worked when the boys were small and so did a lot of things together with them.

> "And they were very reliable kids, you know. And they had all sorts of freedom, but we also wouldn't accept any stupid stuff from them. They had to be respectful and they had to treat things well. I think the most significant aspect in their upbringing was that they had to earn everything they got, even if it was just partially. They had to do little chores, like to clean up their room. I never agreed that the kids should take over my life completely. I didn't think that was right. So I had my part in this house, my husband had his part, and the kids had their part. I think the boys had a different childhood than most Canadian kids, because we were always travelling together, we hardly ever had babysitters."

Mr. and Mrs. R. always kept their sons busy with interesting things to do. Mr. R. tinkered in his workshop with them and Mrs.R. drove them all over town to their activities. The boys took after the parents and developed many interests, thus sparing their parents experiences with drug abuse. The R.s never forced their children to do anything, but let them do whatever they chose. When Ray and his brother had their rock band in the basement it sometimes drove the parents crazy, but they suffered through it because they thought it was necessary for their sons to have this outlet. The two things that Mr. R. insisted on were safety and good care of property. The boys could use all his tools, but they had to look after them and use them the right way, since "one doesn't get two chances with things like a power saw". Ray is more responsible with his parents' property than his brother, he has been a very good son, "awfully easy". Unlike his brother he has never caused his parents any trouble by getting into accidents.

Mrs. R. was always interested in what her sons did at school and used to read their books, finding the ones on social studies especially fascinating. She could not help her children very much with their schoolwork, but she insisted that they did their homework before they did anything else. It was important for her that the boys did well in school, but in Ray's case it was more important that she praised him for what he did, because his brother was always so much better. However, she never gave him false praise.

Ray didn't really discuss school at home, but he never hid anything either, because his parents would find out anyway. Apart from making him do his homework, his parents never pressured him to study. In grade 7 he had a terrible time with math and his father would work with him for two hours every night for six months. After that Ray did not ask his father for help again, because he was afraid of having to spend hours on listening to the answer.

Since Ray and his brother were so close, Ray didn't have too many other friends. But the ones he had were always welcome at home and his parents never objected to any of them. Mrs. R. points out that Ray was always popular with his friends. Of the two brothers he was the one who had all the friends. She wished her sons would have had more friends over, because she always wanted to give a big birthday party, but they did not care much for such things.

Ray now sees his parents almost every day, since he lives very close to them. He still relies on his father for advice and also borrowed some money from him to build his house, which he is paying back now.

In raising his own children Ray would try to be the same type of person as his dad. He would do more outdoors things with his children and play a lot of sports. He would be firm just like his dad is. If it is a son, Ray would also teach him a bit about everything. A daughter would be more the responsibility of his wife, but he would be as strict with her as with a boy. Ray thinks you have got to show your children love and be firm at the same time.

School and Occupation

Ray hated school, he never could stand it; yet never missed a class. He always worked just the minimum required to pass and never failed anything. He was typically average and could have done better, but he enjoyed too many things outside of school.

> "I take a night course right now, it's for my job, you know. The only reason I'm taking it as a night course is because they refuse to offer it during the day. By your own time. It really burns me, but if I have to do it I will do it. But you know most people would rather be doing something else. Like, I'm sure you would rather be doing something else right now."

Despite his dislike of school, Ray went every day and tried to pay attention to what the teacher said, because he could get a lot out of it without writing it down. The thing he hated most about school was homework, and he always tried to get it done in spare classes. As far as subjects go, he was not interested in language or math at all, but he did like Physical Education and Social Studies, because he was really interested in them and wouldn't get bored.

Ray was always with the crowd in school, he didn't stick with his classmates all the time, but he was never an outsider either. He never had any problems with his teachers and would always make sure that he got a seat in the back row. Ray never tricked his teachers but enjoyed watching other kids do it. School just wasn't a big thing for him, the only extracurricular activity he participated in was soccer.

Mrs. R recalls that Ray had problems in reading when he started school, he was a slow learner. But he really began to blossom in high school when he could choose his own subjects. She thinks it was difficult for Ray that his younger brother was so much better in school, but Ray says he never felt bad about his younger brother being the clever one who always went for top honours. His mother praised him for what he did at school and never made him feel inadequate.

When he graduated from high school Ray didn't really know what he wanted to do and experienced a difficult year in his life deciding his future. He worked at a skating rink and became rather worried after a while because his brother had his future planned out, going to University etc. This was a difficult time for Mrs. R. as well, because Ray withdrew from his parents, keeping his thoughts to himself. It was very important for him *not* to do what his father did, and it took a long time for his mother to convince him to take a job in the same field as his dad, but with a different company, since he had already learned so much about it from his father. Ray almost joined the Armed Forces, but then withdrew at the last minute because he didn't want to sign five years of his life away, supported by his mother who said he didn't have to go if he didn't want to. The next day he signed up for an apprenticeship in telecommunications and now is very glad to be working in the same field as his father.

Language

Mr. and Mrs. R. raised their children to speak English, and did not consider it important that their sons should speak German. Mr. R. explains their approach:

> "The thing is, that we didn't want to force them, really. If they didn't feel like it or wanted to do it, that was fine. We tried to point out to them, that: look all sorts of advantages to this and that. If you are bilingual, you can go over there, you would have multiple job choices and all the rest of it. We found ourselves enriched by having access to English literature and anything written in English. I think the same holds true to some extent being able to read German, because they have certain strong points too. So we pointed this out too them. But we didn't hammer it in. We had seen some friends who insisted the kid never spoke a word of English before he went to school. The moment the kid went to school he got switched to English, and even if the parents talked to him in German, he would reply in English. So they really forced him, and it didn't make the kid's life easy either, because on account of this subtle discrimination, because the guy has an accent and all the rest of it."

Mrs. R was very conscious of her poor English and wanted to improve it by only speaking English. She still doesn't tolerate it if people start speaking German to her in front of other Canadians. Mr. and Mrs. R. never considered sending their children to a German language school, but they offered to arrange for their sons to spend a year or more in Germany with relatives, to learn the language. The R's think their sons can still learn German if they want to. Ray is not bothered by his lack of knowledge of German. He understands quite a lot, but can't speak it. He picked up a little German when visitors from Germany came to stay with his family, and he thinks German is the easiest language to learn. He wouldn't mind learning it, but he is afraid he wouldn't use it enough and forget it again. He never had any problems with English.

Ethnic Identification

Ray is a Canadian and would not want to be anything else. His whole life style now is Canadian, "practically nothing is hung over" from the time when he lived with his parents. It never crossed his mind that he would have a wife from a German background, it was important for him only that she had a good personality and shared his interests.

Nobody ever bothered Ray because of his German background, he had no problems with it whatsoever. This might also be because of his size, he was always one of the biggest guys in school and so he never had anyone picking on him.

German culture for Ray means good parties and lots of beer. His mother would also cook German meals all the time, which he thought made Canadian dishes look "like crap", German food is much better. Except for the food, Ray didn't notice many differences between his family and other Canadian families. "It just seems that Germans like to talk a lot more than Canadians." Ray also thinks Europeans take more care of their vehicles. His parents have always been very active and physically in good shape, but he thinks there are some lazy Germans and fit Canadians as well.

All Ray's relatives are still in Europe, and he would like to go again with his whole family to visit them. They were over there once when he was a child.

Summary and Analysis

The way in which the R.s interact with their environment is marked by efforts to arrive at decisions by weighing the alternatives carefully and then executing the ensuing actions very consciously. That is, both parents perceive that they have a choice of action and select the one most suitable to them. Mr. R., especially, leads a very principled lifestyle, adhering to an all-or-nothing approach in pursuing whatever he chooses, while Mrs. R. is less rigid and somewhat softer in her attitude (e. g. not renouncing Germany as home, or being less strict with the children), creating some counterbalance to her husband as far as the interactions within the family are concerned.

The pattern of conscious choices and principled actions is apparent in the following aspects of the R.s' evolution as a Canadian family. Mr. R. chose to come specifically to Alberta, and both Mr. and Mrs. R. decided to stay here because they preferred life in Canada to life in Germany. Once they decided to become Canadians they made every effort to outwardly fit into the predominant picture: they speak English and refrain from activities that they feel would identify them as typical Germans, e. g. efficiently organizing larger groups. As far as the children are concerned, they gave them English names which do not have equivalents in German, they purposely did not teach them German, and actively encouraged them to make Canadian friends.

In raising their children Mr. and Mrs. R. very consciously laid down the rules and, especially Mr. R., strictly enforced those regarding the treatment of property. The R.-sons were not forced to do anything specific, but the parents ensured that the children followed through with whatever they started. Mr. and Mrs. R. also made their sons aware of their choices by pointing out alternatives and discussing them. The principle that everyone has to work for and earn what he gets, not only had the intended effect that the boys took better care of their belongings, but it also meant that they had a rightful claim to them and did not have to be grateful to their parents. This is also reflected at other levels of the relationship between parents and children: the parents do not make sacrifices for their children's sake, rather they insist on everyone's right to pursue their own interests. When the R.s went on holiday together, it was because the parents enjoyed it and took the children along to share the fun. When the boys were older, they could and did do their own thing.

The different family members disagree on certain issues, e. g. how money should be spent, but they discuss these matters openly and still respect the other's point of view when they cannot reach a consensus.

Mr. and Mrs. R. know that inside they are still very German, but they demand that other people respect their decision to be Canadian. Outwardly the R.-family performed the cultural change within the first generation, and Ray – a member of the second generation – looks very much like his Canadian peers. However, it is interesting to note that despite a loss of the German language and other cultural traditions, Mr. and Mrs. R. are proud to have passed on to their sons a sense of good organisation, and that Ray cites work enjoyment as one of his goals, which is a direct reflection of his parents' attitude. Ray is a well integrated Canadian who has retained some of the characteristics of his German parents which they regard as desirable. He loves and respects his parents and knows a few things about Germany and its culture, which he finds interesting but does not regard as part of himself.

Ray does not consider himself different from his friends and since he is married to a woman from an English Canadian family, no traces of his German background are found in his home. Being an immigrant child for Ray meant having relatives in Europe who would visit his family and whom he could visit. His family was not conspicuously different from other families, they had better food but spoke English at home and enjoyed the same pastimes as other Canadians. Ray never had any cause to assume that there was something special about his family, and he never encountered any prejudice either. Only lately has Ray noticed that some of the things his parents do might be connected to their background, for example the way they handle their property. But that does not bother Ray, since he can disagree with his parents and do things his way without causing a break between him and his parents. The only things Ray associates with German culture are good parties with lots of beer and the good food his mother cooks. He has no need or strong desire to find out more about the German background of his parents.

K. Susanne

Introduction

Susanne had received my request for respondents through her daughter who attends a German bilingual school. She was happy to have the opportunity to share her experiences and she arranged the interview with her parents for me. I spoke to Susanne in her house in a town close to the city. Her husband and her three daughters were at home as well, but they did not listen to or participate in the conversation. Susanne preferred to speak German to me, as she uses every occasion to practice it. I talked to her parents in their home in the city. The interview was conducted in German as well, and I had the impression that especially Mrs. S. appreciated talking to an outsider about her family and the joys and hardships of their life in Canada. Both interviews lasted for more than three hours.

History

Mrs. S. was born in 1926 in a German village in Poland, and was one of twelve children. After the German invasion in 1939 she went to live in a city in Silesia to attend school and serve an apprenticeship as a retailer. Her mother and a brother still lived on the farm, while her father had been killed by Poles in 1939 because he had refused to give up speaking German. In 1945 Mrs. S. fled ahead of the Soviet troops, but her mother and brother had to live under Soviet occupation for some time. Eventually the whole family met in a town in western Germany where one of Mrs. S.'s sisters had got married. There Mrs. S. found employment in a bakery and had to learn to keep house and do all the work involved with it, which she had hardly ever done before. Mrs. S.'s mother emigrated to Canada to marry her brother-in-law who had become a widower a few years earlier. She then asked her children to follow her, and since Mrs. S. did not care one way or the other she agreed to emigrate. She left Germany mainly because she had lost her homeland anyway and because she did not like being insulted by the people in western Germany who told many unpleasant stories about the refugees from the East.

Mr. S. was born in 1913 in a town in western Germany. He went to university and became an engineer with the Armed Forces. He was married and had one daughter before he met Mrs. S. in his hometown after the war, but his first marriage had broken apart during the war. When Mr. S. met Mrs. S. she had already obtained her papers to emigrate to Canada. He decided to go with her because there was no possibility of him being employed in his profession again, and before he "loitered about in Germany, he might as well make a new beginning in Canada". Mr. and Mrs. S. were engaged before Mrs. S. left for Alberta in 1951, and Mr. S. followed her a few months later with his daughter. The S.s were married shortly after Mr. S.'s arrival and had a family at once.

Mr. and Mrs. S. had five children, two sons and three daughters, who were born between 1951 and 1963. Susanne is the oldest child, followed closely in age by her two brothers. Her younger brother is severely mentally handicapped and has always needed special attention from the whole family. The older son was killed in an accident seven years ago, and the parents have not yet overcome their grief at his death. It is especially difficult for Susanne's father, because this son had been the only healthy male offspring who could have carried on the family name.

Parents' Adjustment

When Mrs. S. came to Canada she found the new beginning very difficult since she could not speak the language. She stayed only one week with her mother, because she did not want to be a burden. Afterwards she moved to the city together with one of her brothers and worked as a maid. When Mr. S. arrived he found a job immediately in the construction business which was not related to his profession. He forgot everything about his past education and started all over again. There were many Germans in his company, and they helped him to revive his knowledge of English. Mr. S. was "pleasantly disappointed" with Canada, he had expected life as a foreigner to be much more difficult. Mrs. S. was also very taken by the friendliness of the people in Alberta. Both Mr. and Mrs. S. worked very hard, taking on many occasional jobs on the side to save enough money for a downpayment on a house. After three years they moved into their own home and then Mrs. S. concentrated all her efforts on the house and the family.

Mr. S. did not really miss anything about Germany after coming to Alberta, although he noticed that there was no entertainment or "cultural life" available. Mrs. S. missed the opportunity to go out for a walk like she used to in Germany. She would have liked to be able to go a cafe, be comfortable there enjoying a glass of wine. Since these opportunities did not exist, the S.s began having house-parties with friends and relatives. They shared their dishes, sat on the floor, and had a good time together. Mrs. S. thinks in that respect the old times were better than today. They just took their children, got on the bus, went over to someone's house without having to announce their visit, and spent a nice afternoon there. Today the children are usually left behind.

At first Mrs. S. also missed the close contact with her neighbours, but now she has accepted that people do not visit as much with their neighbours as they do in Germany. Over the years Mrs. S. learned English from the radio and adapted to Canada. She only regrets that she never learned how to drive.

As long as the children were in school the S.s did not have much money, because there was only one wage-earner to feed seven people, and the medical expenses for their handicapped son additionally strained the family budget. Mrs. S. was extremely parsimonious and planned well ahead to ensure that the children got what they needed.

Neither Mr. nor Mrs. S. had any problems because of their German background. They were aware that some people disliked Germans because they worked so hard, but they never personally encountered any animosity. Mr. and Mrs. S. are now Canadian citizens who still feel German inside. Most of their friends are German immigrants as well. The S.s do not belong to any German clubs but they visit them when something special takes place. Mr. and Mrs. S. never considered moving back to Germany. Their own beginning had been difficult, but they were convinced that it would be easier for their children, which it is.

Mrs. S. thinks it is important that her children have partners from the same background, so that no one can accuse the other if bad times should come again.

Self-Description

Susanne is a twenty-nine year old woman for whom her family is most important at present. She has been married for ten years and has three daughters of seven, five, and one year of age. At the moment Susanne is a housewife and mother, but she hopes to go back to work sometime, to get out of the house and find more time for herself to do the things she enjoys. It bothers her a little that she cannot do that now, although she likes to be at home and do things around the house, for example gardening and handicrafts. Susanne is very athletic and likes to be physically active. She also loves to read and regrets that she does not have more time for these hobbies. Four years ago she and her husband started their own business and that has occupied much of her time until now.

Susanne holds a Bachelor of Education degree with specialisation in German and Home Economics, but she has never worked as a teacher since she had her first child shortly after graduating from university. She is now involved with a German-English bilingual association in Alberta and also teaches English to German-Canadian senior citizens.

In the future Susanne would like to travel more, to see other parts of Canada, and to go back to Europe. She went there on her honeymoon and found that the trip changed her a lot. She saw a lot of poverty, especially in southern Europe, and thus came to appreciate the standard of life of her family in Canada, although they were not rich by any means.

Susanne thinks that she had a very good home. She was brought up very German, but never encountered any problems because of her background. School occupied most of her time during her childhood and youth. She studied hard and received good marks as her parents had taught her that this was the way to do it. She was also very involved in sports activities, being on the school teams for volleyball and basketball.

Susanne's Own Family

Over the past ten years Susanne's husband and daughters have become more important for her than her original family. However, many of her ideas on childrearing and family life are a reflection of her childhood and youth in a German immigrant family.

Susanne's husband who is seven years older than her, is a German immigrant himself. He came to Canada in his early teens. He was introduced to Susanne by an aunt who wanted him to go out with "a good German girl" and who knew Susanne from her church. For Susanne herself it did not matter that much whether her husband came from a German background, she just wanted him to have a good job so that they would not be as poor as her parents had been. She desired someone who could work hard and who shared her interests, especially those in sports. But she knew that it would be easier within her family if her husband were German, and therefore it became important for her too. Before she met her husband she was somewhat concerned that she might not find a German man. She thought:

> "What, if I don't find a German man? It was never said, but I had the feeling that my parents would not be happy if an English man came into the family. I know that my parents, especially my mother, cannot really express themselves in English. Not from the heart. I think that would have been difficult. So I became a little concerned and wondered whether there were enough German men here or whether I would have to go to Germany."

Susanne was only twenty years old when she got married and she could have waited a few years, but her husband wanted to get married and at that age she "was so stupid that she wanted it too". In that respect she now envies her younger sisters who earn money and have a lot of freedom for themselves, whereas she worked for herself *and* her husband. "But I don't regret it. I got my husband then. Maybe, if I had waited for a year, he would have been gone." Susanne is now only twenty-nine and her children are almost grown up. She is looking forward to enjoying their youth with them, and wants to do a lot of things with them, especially sports.

Susanne is strict with her daughters, but not as strict as her parents were. She believes that children should have time to learn things when they are interested in them, even if it is inconvenient for the parents. For example, she lets her youngest daughter eat by herself, although she still spills a lot of food and Susanne has to clean up after her. Susanne wants her daughters to enjoy their family and she hopes that doing things together and enjoying it will keep problems away later on. She wants her children to respect what their parents say, even if they are of a different opinion. Susanne wants to give her children the opportunity to try different things and would like them to enjoy athletics, reading books, and life in general. School is important as a basis for something else later on, which does not have to be university, if there are good career opportunities without it. Susanne would like her daughters to enjoy learning, but they do not have to obtain top marks. It is more important that they get along with the other children.

Susanne speaks German to her children and they attend a German bilingual school, but she does not insist that they speak only German amongst each other. She expects them to speak German to their parents, but does not always enforce that either.

Even though Susanne met her husband because she was "a good German girl", she does not see herself as different from other Canadian women. She does not believe that the woman should do everything in the house and is glad that her husband helps her a lot, just as she helps him in their business. It bothers her to watch how her uncles or older cousins behave.

> "In those families the children and the house are for the women. The men take off Saturday mornings to visit each other, to play cards or drink beer, while their wives sit at home and do what women do."

Susanne thinks that roles within the family are changing and that nowadays men have more of a chance to do things with the family because they have more freedom and are not as tied down by their work as her father was.

Family

Susanne has many fond memories of her childhood. The S.-family lived in an old district of the town where they were the only Germans. They had a big house with an even larger backyard which was completely surrounded by a six-foot hedge and served as their private playground. Susanne's mother did not work but looked after the children and the house, doing almost everything herself. She also grew a large vegetable garden and preserved a major part of the crop to save money on groceries. Mrs. S. was very economical in the way she spent money, and Susanne remembers that tomato ketchup was a luxury. The children never received an allowance but were given small treats every once in a while. Being the oldest child Susanne had a lot of responsibility, especially with regard to her handicapped brother. She was the only one of the siblings who had enough patience to deal with him. However, she had few household chores, apart from cleaning her room, since her mother looked after most other things.

The family was very close and they did a lot together. They went on a camping vacation to B.C. every summer and the children had a great time, although it was hard work for Mrs. S. who prepared and canned all the meals in advance. But she did it for the children, and Susanne thinks that those were some of the best times of her life.

> "Those were wonderful times. I will never forget that. I think that is a real experience for children. We swam, lay in the sun, and picked cherries every year."

The S.s got together with their relatives quite often, especially at Christmas and for other celebrations. Susanne really enjoyed these occasions when she had lots of fun with her cousins. Mr. S. played a lot with his children in their backyard, and Susanne became a good soccer player by practicing with him and her brother.

Susanne had a number of friends in the neighbourhood who were always welcome in her home and liked to come there. The S.s usually spoke German at home, but switched to English when they had visitors. During high school Susanne often went out in groups with friends from her sports teams, and she never had any problems with her peers. The only thing that bothered her was that her family was so poor, because that meant that she could not buy the same clothes as the other children. For example, she did not get her first pair of jeans until after she was married. Susanne remembers what it was like getting a new dress in grade 10:

> "Then I had *one* new dress, that's the way it was with so many children in the family. I was embarrassed at school, because all the other kids noticed it right away. 'She's got something new.' They all pointed at me. When I think back now, the dress might have been very practical if you only buy one. But it was not very fashionable at the time, not what all the other girls wore."

Apart from the financial aspect Susanne's problems and worries were the same as those of her girl-friends, most of whom had been Canadian for many generations.

Susanne was a well behaved and obedient child who tried not to do anything that would disappoint her parents. Susanne's mother was always very precise about everything and insisted that the children kept clean. For example, Susanne always had to wear white stockings which had to be clean, even if she had to change them twice a day. Susanne thinks her mother overemphasized that and scolded her children too much about little things. But other than that it was Mrs. S. who held the family together and Susanne trusted her and discussed almost everything with her.

Mr. S. was a very strict father. He did not get upset very often, but when he became angry, "then that was it". The children were all very careful around him and never spoke a word at the table. Only when they were older were they allowed to talk as well. Mr. S. was very strict about the curfew. Even when Susanne was already in university she had to be home by nine o'clock. Once she had to leave a theatre performance during intermission because her parents would not allow her to stay and watch the end of the play. However, her parents did not forbid her from participating in her various sporting activities as long as they knew where and with whom she was and that she would be home on time. They were glad that she was busy, because then she could not get into trouble.

Susanne's parents were very proud when she and her brother graduated from school, and they celebrated it with a barbecue in their backyard to which everyone in the school was invited. Susanne got along very well with her parents most of the time. Sometimes it bothered her that she did not have much peace and quiet at home as there were always things to be done, when she would have preferred to daydream and just lie down and think about a book she had read or a film she had seen. There was a time for Susanne in high school when she was very disappointed in her father, because she had always thought of him as a superman and then found out that he was only human, having faults as well. She became angry and did not want to accept it for quite a while, finding it awful that he was not perfect. Reflecting on that now, Susanne realizes that she does not know very much about her father:

> "He does not talk very much. He never said a word about the war. I have known my father for almost thirty years, and if other people ask me: what did he experience during the war, what happened?, I don't know anything. He came here with his daughter from his first marriage and this marriage broke up during the war."

Susanne encountered difficulties with her mother only after she was married. She thinks it was because she tried out new ways of doing things, for example different styles of cooking. At home she had never eaten a casserole, because her father insisted that meat, potatoes, vegetables, and gravy were served separately. After reading an article about problems between mothers and daughters Susanne explained to her mother that she was just trying out new ways and that her mother's ways were not wrong, only different. Susanne now sees her parents very frequently and Mrs. S. often babysits for

Susanne's children. Susanne loves her parents but could not live at home again.

Mr. and Mrs. S. never really talked about childrearing, in raising their children everything was a matter of course. They were both very strict and did not believe that children should always have their own way. It was important that the children obeyed, showed respect for older persons, and were honest. Mrs. S. thinks that other children envied hers, because she was always at home caring for them, whereas many Canadian women worked. She thinks it is very important that the mother is at home when the children return from school and want to tell their parents something. It is not the same if they have to wait until the evening to do so.

Mrs. S. took care that her children were dressed properly, that their clothes were clean, and their shoes polished. She found out later that her son had had problems because of his appearance and thinks it might have been a mistake not to buy him any jeans. "But I also think the Canadians could have changed as well and accepted the things we had. What is wrong with polished shoes?" Susanne did not have any problems, only the boy; but she always came to his defense when a fight broke out. Once the other children got to know the S.s they stopped teasing their children, because they loved the great cakes and good food Mrs. S. served at birthday parties at her house.

Mrs. S. cannot imagine a life without children, everything she does is focussed on them. The first time she and her husband had a holiday for themselves was after twenty-five years of marriage when they went to Hawaii.

Religion

The S.s are Christians and raised their children in the Protestant tradition, although Mr. S. had been brought up Catholic. Religion was very important in the S.-family, and they went to church every Sunday despite living quite far away. At home they said grace at the table and read verses from the catechism every day. All the children had their own Bible to read. In Mrs. S.'s family the Sunday had been holy and they had not been allowed to touch even a needle, but she was not so strict with her children.

Susanne now also attends church with her daughters. Although her husband is religious, church is not especially important to him. However, Susanne found she was making a mistake when she did not go to church for a few years, because she enjoys listening to the sermon and being with the people at church. She thinks it is important for her children to be exposed to the Christian faith so that they have a real choice later on whether and in what they want to believe.

School and University

Susanne enjoyed school very much, it was very important for her. She went through school together with her younger brother as she was set back for a year in grade one because she did not speak any English. In grade three the school wanted to advance Susanne one grade, but Mrs. S. objected because she thought it could only be detrimental to miss a year of instruction.

Susanne always felt that it was very important for her parents that the children did well in school as her mother took care that the children spent some time studying every evening. Susanne obtained very good marks and liked almost everything at school, most of all Phys. Ed., English, and Home Economics. The only subjects she did not care for were Physics and Chemistry.

Susanne never had any conflicts with her teachers. She always behaved well because she was afraid of what her parents would say if she did not. She also got along well with the other children, being active in a number of groups. She worked for the yearbook, participated in sport teams, and attended the games of the boys' teams.

The first year of high school was very hard for Susanne. She had some classes where she did not know anyone and she became very self-conscious about her looks and about the clothes she wore. She wanted to be like the other children, but knew that her family's financial situation did not permit that. Susanne developed an inferiority complex and became very depressed, losing all interest in life. She is not sure why, but she never said a word to her parents about this. She nevertheless thinks that she owes it to them that she survived this time, because they accepted her the way she was and always gave her lots of love. In grade 11 suddenly everything was much better and Susanne had a lot of fun during the last two years of school.

Susanne started university without exactly knowing what she wanted and then went into Education after being in Home Economics for one year. When she got married after attending university for two years her parents were afraid that she might leave school, but that thought never entered her mind. Her husband went back to university as well, and they put themselves through school without financial support from their parents. If Susanne had not married she would have stayed at home throughout her university studies where she had free room and board and could spend all her time on her studies.

Mr. S. believed that his children should have a good education, because "nobody can take away what you know. Knowledge is power." He thinks it is very good for a woman to obtain a university education if she is going to persue a career afterwards. Even if she does not, it might be a waste of time, but is not useless since knowledge makes it easier to converse with well-educated people. Mr. S. insisted that his children obtained marks of at least 80 % at school, and he sat down with them to study if they did not attain that. He also rewarded them for good marks.

Language

At home the S.s spoke only German, and Mr. and Mrs. S. were very strict about their children complying to this rule. One reason for this was that Mrs. S.'s father had been killed for his insistence on speaking German in his house and Mrs. S. was determined to honour his memory. She still insists that her grandchildren speak German and it upsets her when Susanne speaks English to her daughters. Another reason for bringing up their children in the German language was the S.s' conviction that it is always better to know more than to know less, and a second language was something they could give their children for nothing. Mrs. S. also remembered that during her youth her Polish had been better than that of unilinguals, and she saw no harm in raising her children in German. All the children learned English in school or from friends without any difficulties.

Susanne's German is still very good, and her English is better than that of many Canadians as she takes great care to speak properly. It has always been easy for her to write essays, either in English or German. German has been a source of pride for her. She got all her jobs because she can speak German, they ranged from selling groceries in a German store to conducting a sociological survey with German Canadian senior citizens.

Susanne thinks that nowadays bilingualism is an absolute necessity, and that one does not know one's first language before knowing a second. She developed more of a feeling for English by knowing German. Susanne would have sent her daughter to a French bilingual school had there not been a German one available.

Ethnic Identification

Susanne is proud to be Canadian and would not want to live anywhere except in Canada. She finds it important to be bilingual and is glad that her parents kept up the German language. They never held up Germany as something better, though, and Susanne thinks that they were grateful to be so well accepted in Canada. She never had any problems because of her background, but her brother did. He had a very German first name and the children in school started calling him a Nazi. Susanne thinks that the situation escalated because her brother reacted very hot-headedly, whereas she ignored it when she was called names once or twice. The family discussed the issue at home, and Mrs. S. tried to explain the parents' situation in the following manner to her children:

> "We tried to explain that we came from that country. We were expelled, and we tried to live in peace with everybody. What had happened with the S.S., but that not everybody had been like that. It was war, and during the war not only the Germans did bad things, but also others who might not admit to it. We tried to explain this, and that we had starved and that bombs were falling. It is difficult for a child to understand that."

Susanne does not like what she perceives as typical German from recent immigrants, she finds the people are too snappish. In her parents' home German customs and attitudes were preserved. Strictness, religion, cleanliness, and work were very important concepts. "No matter what kind of work one does, one must not be ashamed of it if one does it well." Susanne always took care that she was dressed properly and that her clothes were clean and mended if they had been torn. She would not dare to go to a cornerstore with curlers in her hair. Although Susanne is not quite as meticulous as her mother, she still feels bad if her house is not as clean as it should be.

Susanne's family ate German meals at home and on weekends they "baked tarts and cakes and all sorts of things". They never went out to eat and her father still does not like to go out because "it tastes so much better at home". The family also celebrated Christmas and Easter in the German fashion.

Susanne thinks her parents took more care of their belongings than Canadians do, and that it is a German characteristic to repair broken items instead of replacing them.

The only typical Canadian thing Susanne can think of are fast food outlets. She does not like the taste of their food and is not sure how to handle her daughters' request to go there because the other children do so.

Summary and Analysis

In the S.-family the cultural transition started in the second generation. Mr. and Mrs. S. did not make efforts to Canadianize themselves more than necessary. However, as their main purpose in life was to establish a better future for their children in the new country, they encouraged their children to participate in activities with Canadian peers. The parents struggled hard to provide the material conditions for their children's advancement, and they derive their joy and affirmation from the children's success.

The family was close, almost enclosed, which is symbolically expressed by the family's description of the tall hedge sheltering their large backyard from the outside world and providing the children with an oasis of happy childhood experiences. Apart from their extended family and other members of their German church, Mr. and Mrs. S. did not have any social contacts, thus being ignorant of how life took place in a Canadian home. They raised their children the same way they were brought up, i. e. very strictly, but without directly associating it with German culture. The only aspect of German culture which was explicitly maintained was the German language, and its retention can be regarded as a mission with which Mrs. S.'s family has been entrusted for generations. Mrs. S. in turn has delegated it to Susanne, who can fullfill this mission of keeping up the German language without too many problems, as she is married to a German speaking man and can list many practical and intellectual advantages for her daughters to be bilingual. The bilingual school which her daughters attend is a considerable distance from their home and requires a lot of effort and time on Susanne's part to drive them there and back, but for Susanne and her husband it is worth it.

Susanne's lifestyle is very Canadian and she does not show much sympathy for what she perceives as German attitudes and behaviour. She has reframed her adherance to the German language and some traditions as a beneficial intellectual endeavor which broadens one's mind and also increases one's tolerance for ethnic diversity. This allows her to satisfy her parents' wishes and at the same time be consistent with her own ideas about childrearing and family life.

Susanne is a young woman who shares the concerns of many of her contemporaries in Canada, namely to find a way to care for her family and at the same time realize her own interests. In that respect she is quite different from her mother, who lived exclusively for her family. This indicates that Susanne went through a normal process of generational differentiation , although she was an extremely obedient daughter while living at home. She was a very considerate child who was quite sensitive to the hardships of her parents and took care not to add to their burden but help them carry it as best as she could by not complaining or talking about her own problems. As she was the oldest child, the family's early financial constraints affected her more than her siblings, and she also had to assume a lot of responsibility in handling her handicapped brother. Through her family situation Susanne developed an insight into psychological processes of human interaction and she shows a lot of empathy for her mother, but at the same time regards some of her mother's ideas on child-rearing as unacceptable for herself. Susanne cherishes the good home life she enjoyed in her family and is grateful that she learned a second language at home. Apart from speaking German in the home and being very well behaved, Mr. and Mrs. S. did not require their children to be different from their Canadian peers. Only in regard to the dress code it was inconceivable for Mrs. S. to give in to her children. Her infexibility in that respect combined with the lack of money in the family led to some difficulties for Susanne and her brother as their clothes were noted as being different by their classmates.

Poverty is the only negative association Susanne has with being an immigrant child, whereas she lists a close family and a second language on the positive side. Although Susanne never complained to her parents about it, she was determined not to be as poor as they were, and set her aim at finding a husband who would earn enough money to make life comfortable for her. It seems she also felt somewhat deprived of a care-free youth by being kept on a short leash by her father and getting married at an early age. She does not bemoan it, though, but rather looks at the bright side and plans to make up for it in the future.

L. Veronika

Introduction

Mr. and Mrs. V. were asked by a friend to talk to me. At the beginning of the interview Mrs. V. seemed somewhat apprehensive but relaxed after we had been talking for a while. The conversation took place in the V.s house on a weekday, in English. I spoke to their daughter Veronika on a Saturday morning in her house, she was a grass widow for the weekend. Veronika obviously enjoyed the interview and gladly talked about her childhood and youth in her family. This conversation was held in English as well.

History

Mr. V. was born in 1929 as the oldest of six children in a town in southern Germany. He was too young to fight during the war and went to the academic high school during that time. He would have attended university after the war, but his father was a prisoner of war for five years, and since Mr. V. was the oldest son in the family he had to earn money to support his mother and siblings. He became a car mechanic, obtained his journeyman papers in 1948, and was employed in a good job afterwards.

Mrs. V. was born in 1929 in the same town as Mr. V.. After completing the regular school she went to a trade school to become a bookkeeper and retailer. She found relatively well paid employment, and in general the situation in the town was not as bad as elsewhere in Germany, because it had been spared by the bombs during the war.

Mr. and Mrs. V. were engaged before Mr. V. decided to emigrate to Canada. Emigration was partly an adventure and partly a political decision, as Germany started to establish a compulsory army at that time and Mr. V. did not want any part in that. Economics also played a role in the decision, Mr. V. desperately wanted to buy an English motorcycle and hoped to earn the money for that in Canada. He left in 1953 together with a friend and it was agreed that Mrs. V. would follow him if he liked it. She was eager to go to Canada because she had never been away from home before. She joined her fiance after one year and they were married immediately after her arrival in Canada. The V.s have two children, a son and a daughter. Veronika was born in 1955, her brother in 1961.

Parents' Adjustment

Mr. V. came to Alberta on the advice of an immigration officer who had shown him a nice picture taken in the summer and never mentioned 40-below winters. Mr. V. found employment in a town in Alberta and had hardly any difficulties adjusting to the new country. He had learned some English at school and a fellow worker translated the technical terms for him. It was a revelation for Mr. V. when he started working in Canada, "because the boss was not as high and mighty as in Germany", that kind of inbred obedience he had experienced in the Hitler Youth did not exist. The only drawback for Mr. V. was the cold winter, mainly because he was not equipped for it. Mr. V. also disliked the food, but this problem was solved when Mrs. V. joined him and started cooking German meals. The V.s took long journeys to the city to buy meat from the German butcher.

Mrs. V. was very impressed by the warm welcome she received from the people in Alberta. Mr. V.'s landlady prepared their wedding so that they had a nice celebration although none of their relatives were present. Mr. and Mrs. V. saw a future for themselves and for their children in Canada and decided to settle in Alberta. Mr. V. was quite surprised that his wife did not want to return to Germany to live there, since he had expected her to become quite homesick.

For about five years the V.s had their own business in a small town in northern Alberta where they lived in a trailer and then in a mobile home. When Veronika reached school age they moved into their own house in the city, and Mr. V. started working with a larger company.

Mr. and Mrs. V. did not experience any discrimination against Germans as a result of the war. Mr. V. was called a D. P. sometimes, but that did not bother him and he just shrugged it off. The only time the V.s encountered prejudice was when they bought their small business and the previous manager said something about "a bunch of Germans moving in and taking over his job." Mr. V. thinks that generally they were treated fairly and he has no regrets about coming to Canada.

The V.s were surprised and shocked at the way the school systems work in Alberta. Since the V.s were Roman Catholic their daughter automatically started out attending a Catholic school. However, when Mr. and Mrs. V. decided, for purely academic reasons, to put her into a Public school after six years, a priest came by and they had to sign a statement that they were not Catholic anymore. Mr. and Mrs. V. did it objecting to such procedures and they still do not agree with it. Apart from this incident they have not encountered any major problems in Alberta.

Mr. and Mrs. V. are Canadian citizens and they definitely feel at home in Canada. They still have a lot of contact with their relatives in Germany and they visit them fairly frequently. However, they do not enjoy the life style there anymore, it is too stressful and dominated by the urge to accumulate material goods.

The V.s have many friends amongst Canadians and they also have their circle of German friends. They do not belong to any German clubs, but they visit them sometimes for a dance. Mrs. V. wanted to join one of the clubs to meet some German ladies, but her husband was never interested. Both Mr. and Mrs. V. agree that there is too much jealousy amongst the Germans in Alberta, too many of them exhibit the "keeping-up-with-the-Jones-business", which strikes the V.s as foolish. They want to live their own life without interference and are happy with what they have. Mr. and Mrs. V. really enjoy travelling and have spent most of their money on holidays and small trips. They have kept up very few German traditions in their home, only the food and Christmas celebrations, and they also have some records of German folk music.

Self-Description

Veronika is a 26 year old secretary, has been married for three years and does not yet have any children. She describes herself as a family person who likes to be with her husband as well as with her parents and brother. She loves the outdoors and is learning many outdoor skills from her husband. Her hobbies include travelling, crafts, baking, cooking, and gardening.

School has always been important for Veronika, she always wanted to do well. Some of her best years were during high school, and she was planning to attend university and become an interpreter. However, after finishing grade 12 she had had enough of school and became a secretary.

One of Veronika's goals in life was to find somebody to spend the rest of her life with, and she has accomplished that. Veronika and her husband share many interests, but also have enough different ones to have something to talk about. They are planning to build a house in the country and be as self-sufficient as possible. For the future Veronika wants to be happy, enjoy life as it comes, and bring up children of whom she can be proud. She does not have any career aspirations and believes she would be happy being a mother and looking after her children.

Veronika grew up a Roman Catholic, but religion does not matter to her now.

Veronika does not think she grew up differently from other Canadian children, only that the food was different in her family. She thinks it is great that her parents come from a German background, because that way she acquired a second language, became familiar with different customs, and travelled to Europe. Veronika never had any problems with her parents' background and believes she was lucky because her parents tried to make it easy for her. The only disadvantage in being an immigrant child was the inaccessibility of relatives, Veronika missed not having her grandparents close by.

Family

Veronika's family is very close, and they have always done many things together. They took a family vacation every year. At home they played a lot of games and in the winter they went cross-country skiing together. They had supper together every night, and Veronika hated it when she was late due to some school activities, because then she would miss out on the conversation about the day's events, which was part of dining together. On Saturdays the whole family went shopping together, and Veronika still shops for clothes with her mother. Sunday was family day, everyone slept in and then they gathered for an extended brunch, using the occasion for long discussions about politics and current events. In the afternoon they went for a walk or did something else together. The family attended all the sports games Veronika's brother participated in, and often Veronika and her parents were the only ones cheering at these games.

Veronika thinks she was brought up fairly liberally. At home she had to clean her room and in general was taught to be neater than other children. As far as behaviour went, Veronika found her parents to be stricter than other parents. She had set times when she had to be in, and it seemed that she was almost always the first child to be in. Bedtime was also a set time. Veronika thinks that she and her brother were "pretty well behaved kids", for example in regard to table manners. They were taught to be civil and not to fight with other children, and not to touch everything they saw. Veronika always had to do her homework before she went outside. She perceived that this "homework-first" rule was enforced much more strictly with her than with her younger brother. She had a lot of fights with him, finding that "being the oldest she always got the rotten end of the deal."

Veronika's family is a touching family, they hug and kiss a lot, and Veronika cries a lot for various reasons. They still show their love within the family through physical contact. Veronika thinks she must have been a very good child, because she was hardly ever punished. To yell at her was usually sufficient to keep her in line, whereas her brother received a few spankings. The decisions in the family were made jointly by the parents, and all four family members would decide where to go on a holiday.

Veronika had a lot of friends, but not many close ones because her family was so close that she did not need them. Her friends were children she went to school with and who lived close to her home. Most of them came from families who had been in Canada for many generations, but ethnic background did not matter to Veronika at all. She did her homework with them and they went shopping together or played around the house. Veronika often brought her friends home and her parents did not mind. Veronika also had friends staying overnight at her place, but her mother would not allow her to sleep at other people's houses very often for fear she would create a bother for the other mother. Veronika thinks another reason is that her parents were not used to staying overnight at another house from their own childhood.

Veronika and her brother received an allowance when they were children, but they never had as much money as the other kids. Sometimes they asked their father for more money, and they usually got it after explaining at length why they deserved it. Veronika started babysitting when she was 13, but never worked during the week because of school. The first time she really earned money was in the summer between grade 11 and grade 12 when she and some friends worked for the militia.

In bringing up her children it was very important for Mrs. V. that her daughter learned English from the very beginning, because she herself did not like being immediately recognized as a foreigner by her accent. Mrs. V. also thought it was important that she was home to look after her children. She started working once and then left when she found out that her children were doing nothing but watch television all day long. There were not many differences between the way Mrs. V. brought up her children and the way Canadians raised theirs. Mrs. V. only made sure that she always knew where her children were. Mr. V. thinks that his wife might have been a little overprotective as she was always very anxious that nothing happened to the children. Obedience was very important for the V.s and they never had any discipline troubles with their children, "things always went amazingly smoothly." The children learned discipline through the environment at home, and they also acquired a real sense of right and wrong. The V.s did not emphasize the religious upbringing of their children, but they did teach them what is right and what is wrong.

Mr. and Mrs. V. think that a good education is of utmost importance for a person, "you can't get enough of it". Mr. V. reads lots of books to inform himself and the whole family takes great interest in the news and discusses what is happening in the world. The children have always had books to read and this interest in reading was carried over from the parents to the children. The V.s told Veronika that it was important to be good in school and they emphasized good marks. Mrs. V. expected her daughter to do well in school because she knew that she was a capable child. The parents never had to pressure Veronika to study, she was very conscientious and did it on her own. The V.s wanted both their children to attend university, but they could not persuade Veronika to go and did not want to push her too much against her will. Mr. V. thinks they might have pushed her a little too hard anyway.

As far as her own children are concerned, Veronika wants them to be honest and well behaved so that she can take them to other people's homes. They would have to be obedient and show respect for their parents. Veronika does not want to spoil them and thinks she would tend to be stricter than many people.

School

School was very important for Veronika. She enjoyed doing well on an assignment or an exam and liked the camaraderie as well as the competition involved. She did very well in school, mainly because she really wanted to, "it was kind of in her to do good." Her parents never punished or disciplined her for obtaining a low mark. In her family it was taken for granted that one had to do well in school.

Veronika started out attending a Catholic elementary school and was disturbed because the other children on the block teased her about going to a "separate school". She did not know what it meant but was relieved when she changed to a Public school in Junior High. There she had a lot of catching up to do academically, but was pleased to be "one of the majority and not separate anymore."

Veronika had hardly any problems at school, there was only one teacher she did not get along with. She was always in a group of friends who stayed together during the school year. Most of these girls were at the top of the class like herself. They were interested in writing and poetry. In high school Veronika tried out many different clubs, for example drama or writing, and she also participated in sports, but was never good enough to make a team. However, she never got involved so much that it would interfere with her schoolwork.

Languages – English, German, and French – were easy for Veronika, but she had to study very hard to keep her marks up in math. It had been her goal to become an interpreter, but she was discouraged from doing so when she heard a speaker from the university. She describes her decision not to attend university:

> "Grade 12 was a really hard year on me, I really had to work hard for my marks. I kind of thought I had missed out on the fun part of school, because I was always working on homework. I was in a French class and one day we had a speaker from the university, the Linguistics Department or something. And this was one of the main things that made me decide that I was not going to be an interpreter. He mentioned this one fellow who had a Ph. D. in Romance Languages and was fluent in French, English, German, and God knows what else. And he was trying to become an interpreter for the Federal Government and he flunked the exam. I figured, nine or ten years of school and you are going to fail when you are supposed to know these things, wouldn't that be something. That really put a damper on my whole idea of going into that field. And I did not really know what else to take at university, and I thought if there is something that I want to take some day I can always go. I did not have all the credits that I needed to get into anythings else, because I had had my first two years of university planned and took only those courses in grade 11 and grade 12 that I needed to get into those programmes."

Veronika started working as a secretary after school and acquired most of her business skills on the job or during a few night classes, she had only taken a typing course in high school. She still likes to learn, but does not appreciate the work involved in going to school.

Language

Veronika never encountered any language problems. She spoke English when she entered school and then was taught to read and write German by her mother, parallel to the English instruction at school.

Veronika never attended a German language school, but thinks she might have liked it. Had there been a school accessible her parents would have sent her. Until about six years ago Veronika's parents spoke German at home and the children usually answered in English. Conversations were held in a mixture of German and English and it was never possible to adhere to one language.

At times Veronika's German is fairly scratchy, but she used to be fluent after her first visit to Germany when she was seven years old. Sometimes she shies away from speaking it, because she aquired the very distinct southern German accent her parents speak.

Veronika enjoys being able to speak more than one language and would like her children to speak German and French as well as English. She will try to teach them to read and write in German just as her mother taught her.

Ethnic Identification

Veronika is a Canadian who likes to say that she is from a German background. Unlike her younger brother she never experienced any prejudice because of her background. She was called a "Kraut" a few times, but that was only one amongst many nicknames and she could not care less, getting even with the other children by calling them names as well.

Her brother, however, went to a high school that was attended by many upper middle class Jewish boys as well. There he was confronted with a lot of really cutting remarks which hurt Veronika as well, although they were never addressed to her. The family discussed the issue very intensely and Mr. V. explained to his son that he was only fifteen years old when the war ended, and that he certainly had not known anything about the holocaust. Veronika's brother was then able to understand the situation better and to shrug off the remarks. The issue did not affect Veronika's understanding of her background, but she became aware "that some people were still holding a grudge after so many years."

Veronika has always been aware that her parents come from a different country, mainly because they do not have any relatives here. She thinks "it is great to have something else to fall back on, another language and different customs." Her German background still plays an important role in her life, she celebrates holidays the German way and prepares German food, which her husband likes very much although he is not of German descent. As a child Veronika thought it would be nice to marry someone German, but it did not seem so important to her anymore when she became older. Then it only mattered that her parents loved him right away. Veronika thinks she has enough German in her for both of them, because

> "he really enjoys things that we do from a German background. And that is important for me, because it is part of me. And as I say, he fits right in and he thought it was neat, it was great to do those things. You know, he loves the food, just everything. Mum always says: You have got him half a *Schwab* already."

German culture for Veronika was the food, eating rye bread, going to a German club every once in a while, and collecting German stamps. She thinks that German people are neater and cleaner than Canadians, and somehow they seem to appreciate life more. They enjoy parties more and they know how to have a good time. Veronika finds that many Germans in Alberta are more stuck up. She does not know whether they really think that they are better than anybody else, "but they have always got their nose in the air."

Veronika does not think that there is a classic difference between German immigrants and Canadians, it might be that the native born Canadians are not as enlightened because they know only one culture, and "when it comes to politics Canadians as a whole are pretty apathetic."

Veronika intends to live in Canada and considers it her home. Germany is always good to visit, but she would not like to live there, it is too crowded and there are no open spaces. When Veronika talked to her cousins in Germany she really stuck up for Canada and defended its institutions and its way of life.

Summary and Analysis

In the V.-family emphasis is placed upon attaining happiness for each member and for the family as a whole. Within the family the V.'s try to achieve this goal through sharing ideas, feelings, and experiences, and by engaging in many family activities. Toward the outside world they take an approach of "live and let live", meaning that they want to follow a lifestyle that suits them, and that they do not want to conform to other people's expectations or way of life, simultaneously granting everyone the same freedom. They have many friends, Canadians and German immigrants, with whom they enjoy good times.

Mr. and Mrs. V. decided to stay in Canada because they really liked it here. When raising their children the parents wanted to make life easy for them by teaching them English as a first language, and throughout the years the family members' well-being was put before ideas or principles.

Veronika noticed that her family was different from those of her friends mainly because she did not have any relatives in Canada. This was the only drawback of being an immigrant child, which in other ways was very special as Veronika enjoyed a close family life and learned a second language at home. She did not encounter any problems because of her background .

During her school years Veronika had internalized her parents' emphasis on a good education and voluntarily yielded to their pressure to study hard. Only at the end of high school it dawned on her that she might be missing out on the fun and when she faced the prospect of studying for another four or six years without receiving the expected reward, a job as an interpreter, she found that too much to handle and decided to discontinue her education. She rather worked and enjoyed life. Her parents desired strongly that Veronika attend university, but they took off the pressure when it became evident that she would be happier just working. Similarly, when Veronika chose her husband, the only thing that counted was everyone's mutual liking.

The problems in the family were usually solved through long and intense discussions in which everyone participated, and the same principle applied when a family member encountered difficulties outside the family. The goal that everyone should be happy also entailed that they were in harmony with their Canadian environment, and within the V.-family the cultural transition took a very smooth path over one generation, with Veronika being a proud and well adapted Canadian. She also has a good knowledge of and deep regard for German cultural traditions, she speaks the language well and still cooks and celebrates the way her parents taught her. For her, these traditions are treasured in a very positive way, she enjoys practicing and sharing them with other people. There is no rigid adherence to ideals, rather Veronika enjoys life, following in many ways her parents' approach to it.

M. Wolfgang

Introduction

Wolfgang and his parents are farmers, he holds a share in their farm. Firstly I called Mr. and Mrs. W. about the interview and they in turn obtained consent from their son. I spoke to Wolfgang in his house, located about half a mile away from that of his parents. While we were talking his two little sons were playing in the room and his wife was around as well. The interview itself was rather brief, not because Wolfgang was reluctant to share his ideas, but it seemed that many of my questions had never occurred to him before and were quite alien to his understanding of the world, since he had never thought of himself as an immigrant child. Quite the contrary, his parents, especially his mother, had a lot to say, and I stayed for an extended discussion after the interview, which was conducted in their home, in German.

History

Mr. W. was born in 1928, and grew up in a town on the Rhine. There were six children in his family. Although he lived in a town, his main interest had always been in agriculture, and so he went through a very intensive, four-year-long study and training programme in agriculture during the Hitler era. He was spared military service because agricultural experts were needed at home.

Mrs. W. is one of nine children, she was born in 1921 and grew up in a small village close to the French border. She comes from an academic family, her father was a minister and her mother a teacher, and she went to university herself to become a physical education teacher. During her youth under Hitler Mrs. W. was very idealistic, she only became critical after moving to Canada and regarding the events from an international point of view.

Mr. and Mrs. W. met and were married after the war on a vine estate where she was working as a domestic and he as an agricultural assistant. They have six children, four sons and two daughters, who were born between 1947 and 1964. Wolfgang is the fourth oldest, he was born in 1956, shortly before the family emigrated from Germany to Canada.

Parents' Adjustment

The W.'s wanted to have their own farm in Germany, but that turned out to be impossible for financial reasons. Instead of slaving all their life for someone else they decided to emigrate to Canada where it was supposed to be possible to start a farm without a lot of money.

They waited five years to be admitted and then came to Alberta upon the advice of an immigration officer. Mr. W. worked for two years as a hired man on a farm in a community which consisted mainly of people of German descent. The locals showed great interest in Germany and asked the W.s a lot of questions, although many of them had never seen that country. The W.s felt at home right away, encountering a life style similar to the one they were used to and never experiencing any prejudice against Germans.

With the exception of about 500 pounds of books, the W.s had brought their whole household with them and didn't really miss anything they had left behind. Mrs. W. also insisted on buying new furniture, because she did not want her children to grow up in the shabby ones provided by the farmer they worked for.

Mr. and Mrs. W. had learned English before they came and could read fluently, but they had some difficulties speaking properly.

Mr. W.'s knowledge of agricultural technology and science was far superior to that of the locals, and after they had discovered this everyone was eager to employ him. The people in the community liked him very much, and when after seven years there was a farm for sale everyone was anxious that he should buy it to buy it. The W.s got a good price for it and achieved their goal of owning a farm after they had been in Canada for 10 years.

The W.-children are all Canadian citizens, while the parents still hold German citizenship. This is mainly due to Mrs. W.'s refusal to swear an oath to the Queen. She would not mind swearing an oath to the Prime Minister of Canada. But now Mr. and Mrs. W. think they will take out Canadian citizenship, since they have no intention of returning to Germany, and it would be stupid not to become Canadians legally, since they are already Canadian at heart.

Mr. and Mrs. W. have visited Germany a few times in recent years since their sons have been old enough to look after the farm. They still have many relatives and friends over there, who have also been to Canada quite frequently. Mrs. W., in particular, takes great interest in international affairs and in Germany, but she would not want to live there anymore. She thinks Germans are too full of themselves, whereas Canada is proof that you can live together with anyone. She enjoys the multicultural atmosphere here and believes it would be quite boring if everything were the same.

The W.s don't belong to any German clubs in Alberta, mainly because their time is so restricted by their commitments on the farm. But they do make a point of celebrating Mardi Gras every year with a club in the city. At home they still cook German food and celebrate Christmas and Easter after the German fashion.

Self-Description

Wolfgang is a twenty-five year old farmer who has been married for four years and has two sons, three and one year old. He has been working on the farm ever since high school and plans to stay with it because he really likes it.

One of the main things in his life was that he always got along with everybody. He was accepted as one of th group and continues to have a good time. His strongest point is that he is so easy to get along with, although sometimes he gets bossy or moody when he tells someone what to do. He thinks that most people don't like that, just as he does not automatically obey a person in authority.

Important events in Wolgang's life were the births of his sons, "that was something very different." He was also very happy to finish school. "I didn't like school too much, I just liked sports, more sports than classroom instruction."

Wolfgang's major goal in life is to build a new house.

> Wolfgang: "That is the only thing that really interests me, so that is my big goal. I have got to keep working at it."
> Gisela: "Something else?"
> Wolgang: "Oh, have a good time, yes."

When Wolfgang got married it was important that his wife was attractive to him and that she could cook and do everything else. And she had to be willing to live on a farm, because if "she wouldn't know how to live on a farm, it wouldn't help, would it?"

Wolfgang is not religious, he "does not believe in it".

Family

Wolfgang describes his family as a very close one that still gets together quite often although his siblings live up to 500 km away. They visit the farm regularly, which Mrs. W. takes as an indication of the good relationship the parents have with the children. It has always been important that they have a good family life.

> Mrs. W.: "Very companionable. Free. The children were not beaten. We never demanded anything from them that we wouldn't do ourselves. They all helped with the farming. We didn't really have any problems with our children. Everyone could become what they wanted. We didn't force them to do this, or to finish school, or to go to university."

On the last part Wolfgang's perception differs that of his mother, he felt quite strongly that he had to finish school, since one of his brothers had dropped out and for a few years his parents did not get along too well with him. However, they say this was not because he left school, but because he did not want to work either. So they chased him off the farm.

Mr. and Mrs. W. thought that a good education was very important for their children and they told them that. In Mrs. W.'s eyes it is the best gift for one's child: "Nobody can take away what you have in your head." She was always happy when her children did well in school, but thought it wrong to force them to learn. Every child should develop on his own as well as he can, she thinks it does no good to push children through school. She did not check Wolfgang's homework, she just looked at his marks and was satisfied when he passed.

The parents always knew what was happening at school, the children did not conceal anything. The W.-children were slightly revolutionary at school, and Mr. and Mrs. W. supported them in their actions after listening to both sides.

The W.'s never made their children work on the farm in the mornings before school as many other parents did. They wanted them to be awake during classes. However, they did keep them home for a few days at harvest time.

It did not matter to the parents what their children did after high school, whatever occupation they chose was fine. None of the children went to university, but they all have good jobs.

Religion was very unimportant for the W.s, and they did not go to church. They object to the established churches and the way these use their money and power.

Wolfgang does not recall any rules being set down in the family. "You just had to do what you were asked to do, and if you didn't do it you were punished". Of course, everybody in the family had to work on the farm, and it was very important to the parents that these chores were done every day.

> Wolfgang: "I used to come home from school, I set the machines together for mum and dad, and sometimes I helped them milk. When I got older I had to milk every night and morning."

Obedience was emphasized in the family, because with six children order was necessary. At meal times everyone had to be at the table, and the children had to be in bed early as well. In that respect the W.s differed from Canadian parents who "let their children stay out gallivanting all night". Otherwise the W.-children were not much different from Canadian kids.

For their first ten years in Canada the W.s were not eligible for health insurance, and thus Mrs. W. put strong emphasis on good health, natural foods, and personal hygiene. In regard to sexuality the W.s raised their children very freely; both parents are very athletic and used to shower a lot, and since they did not have running water at first, everyone had to wash top to bottom in front of each other without being ashamed. The parents also talked a lot to their children about their own youth.

Most of the time the W.s did not have to discipline their children. They always tried to interest them in the work they had to do. The only arguments Wolfgang remembers having with his parents were related to his chores on the farm; in the summertime he often preferred playing ball to making hay. Other than that he found his parents very open about everything, he could talk to them and didn't have to hide anything.

> "For example, when we were younger and the kids would go out and drink beer in the country and stuff like that, my dad always said: if you want to drink, come home and drink at home here. You don't have to drive around and get hurt or something. Other parents, I don't think would even think that way. You shouldn't be doing that and that's it."

Wolfgang's parents made all the decisions together, and when the children were older they also had a say in issues that concerned them directly.

Wolfgang always brought a lot of friends home, and later on could hire them as farm hands when help was needed. He himself never worked anywhere except on the farm. When he was younger he received an allowance, and since he graduated from high school he has been getting a basic wage. His parents wanted him to leave for a year to experience a different type of life, but he would not go, because he is too attached to the place.

Nowadays Wolfgang only relies on his parents to look after the farm when he goes away, and he does the same for them. He receives his emotional comfort from his wife.

In raising his own children he basically follows his parents' example: "Give them lots of love and when they do something bad or wrong, let them know that they are wrong and discipline them for it."

School

Wolfgang went to a rural school where most of the children were farm kids. He did not like school at all, he only enjoyed meeting his friends there and participating in the sports teams. His grades were average throughout the years and he never failed anything. The two subjects he disliked most were English and Social Studies, not because he had difficulties, he just didn't care for them.

Wolfgang got along really well with some teachers, but less so with others.

> "I know one teacher especially, I just hated him. He was our English teacher, I didn't like him at all. I had to stay home sometimes and help on the farm and he just didn't think that was right. He figured I should be there for class every time. And, ... but it worked both ways, he didn't like me and I didn't like him."

Mrs. W. recalls only one incident when her husband had to intervene at school on Wolfgang's behalf:

> "They treated him like a small child. He was a big guy. He already worked independently at home. We treated him like a man, not a 14-year old. He wasn't one, he was an adult to us. They should treat him as a man, not as a child. He can do everything correctly at home, why shouldn't he do it at school. Give him decent stuff to do, not such childish things. They had to colour preprinted things. You can't do that with grown up children."

Wolfgang got along really well with his classmates, most of his friends were people he went to school with. They were all born in Canada, some had a German background, but that "didn't make much difference" to him. Together they were involved in sports and outdoor recreational activities. Wolfgang played on all school teams, travelling all over the province and enjoying it tremendously when the team and cheering fans got going. He still plays on a sports team in his community.

As far as education for his children is concerned, Wolfgang will insist that they finish high school. After that everything is up to them. He will pay for their education as long as they need it, whether they want to become a doctor or whatever.

Language

Mr. and Mrs. W. always speak German at home, amongst themselves and to their children. However, they never insisted that the children answer in German. Wolfgang is the only one of the children who does not speak German very well, but he understands everything. The W.s never practiced English with their children, trusting that they would learn it by themselves. Wolfgang picked it up from a neighbour's son and never had any language problems at school.

Wolfgang thinks it is good to know two languages, especially for someone who travels a lot. But since he stays in Western Canada all the time, it doesn't make much difference whether he can speak German or not. The idea that his children might learn German never occurred to him, but he thinks it would be nice if they could do this.

Ethnic Identification

Wolfgang considers himself Canadian and does not attach much significance to his German background. He doesn't see himself as any different from his friends. He never experienced any prejudice, and he himself never noticed any differences between Canadians and German immigrants, he can't think of any differences between his family and Canadian families.

All he can associate with his German background are beerfests and German food like *Rouladen* and red cabbage. His mother cooks stuff like that, and his wife knows how to make it as well.

Country and Western dances are typically Canadian for Wolfgang, and as far as food is concerned it's steak or hamburger.

Some day Wolfgang would like to visit Germany, especially to meet his relatives. But he definitely wants to live in Alberta, a land of opportunity with lots of work, where you can make it if you want to work.

Summary and Analysis

The relationships within the W.-family and between them and their surroundings are characterized by an allowance for differences, combined with a pursuit of personal freedom and an interest in individual and cultural diversity. The tolerant relationships within the family are complemented by a set of fixed and very explicit rules which structure the daily interactions of the family, and by which everyone abides.

The pattern of stressing personal differences and independence reoccurs several times in the description of Wolfgang and his parents. The major reason why the W.s came to Canada was to fulfill their desire to be their own masters and to work for themselves. The parents enjoy the cultural diversity in Canada, they participate in activities of other ethnic groups and at the same time adhere to those German cultural expressions they cherish. They have made many friends and point out that they often differ in opinion with the latter, but this does not matter since everyone can do her own thing on their respective farms. This way of relating to the outside is also reflected in the relationships between parents and children:

The children had the freedom to choose their own friends, to speak either German or English, to select an occupation, and to spend their leisure time as they desired. This is not to say that the parents had no interest or opinion in these matters, they certainly made their preferences known, but respected the choice of the children. The parents also established a definite authority by strictly enforcing the few rules and limits they had set for their children, as in adhering to the principle that a person has to work for her living, when they kicked out one of their sons who wanted to do neither school nor farm work. An example of the parents' willingness to let the children behave according to the standards of their peer groups is Mr. W.'s agreement that Wolfgang could get drunk with his adolescent friends, with the provision that they did this at home, to prevent accidents.

The children each had their own group of friends with whom they spent their spare time, and the friends were always welcome on the farm. With the exception of the youngest son, all the children have now left home and established families of their own. None of them is married to a German-speaking spouse. The children still have a lot of contact with their parents, and the farm serves as a meeting place for the siblings. In Wolfgang's case, the pattern of allowing for differences and letting each child develop in his own way, resulted in a well adapted individual, personally as well as culturally, who never encountered major problems.

Wolfgang is as much a rural Albertan as his friends whose families have been in the country for several generations. His life revolves around the farm, his family, and having a good time with friends from the community. The fact that his parents are German and that he himself was born there does not have any significance for him in his daily life. It seems to be something of the past, and he does not attribute anything in his upbringing or his parents' behaviour to their German background, to him "it makes no difference at all."

Wolfgang had a happy childhood and youth and never had any reason to assume that there was a difference between himself and the other children. He was well liked amongst his friends and probably quite popular at school due to his athletic abilities. He didn't like school, but still worked enough to pass and did not cause his teachers an unusual amount of trouble.

One reason why Wolfgang never encountered any prejudice lies in the ethnic composition of the community, where most people had a German background and some still spoke German at home. His parents' attitude also contributed to him not experiencing any conflicts. Wolfgang really appreciates the openness of his parents, noticing it as the one point where his family differed from the others he knew.

Life is a matter of course for Wolfgang, and requires little philosophizing, rather it continues in more or less familiar patterns in sequence with the seasons of the year. He is closely connected to nature and its ways, being able to rejoice in the simple facts of life, as in regarding the births of his sons as the most outstanding events in his life.

The W.-family made the cultural transition from German to Canadian from the first to the second generation. At the parents' home German is still spoken, and one can find German books and records, while in Wolfgang's house no typical signs of German culture can be detected. Although some of Wolfgang's siblings still speak German quite well, the W.s' grandchildren do not. Wolfgang has neither negative nor distinctly positive feelings about German culture, he likes and respects his parents' lifestyle, e. g. the food, but that is the extent of his identification with his country of origin. In his case, German cultural manifestations, including language, have been lost, but he is a contented individual with firm roots in his community and family.

N. Summary of the Case Reports

The following section presents a brief summary of perceptions and facts reported by the families; its main intent is to serve as a means for quick reference.

All the parents reported that they generally received a warm welcome in Canada and some were quite surprised by the tolerance and generosity of the Canadians. None of the families had any financial means upon their arrival, but by now they all have achieved a secure (i.e. owning their home) economic status.

The parents do not report many adjustment problems. There were of course some language difficulties since the majority of them did not speak English when they arrived, but it seems that these problems were expected and accordingly dealt with by the parents. Canadian food was difficult to get used to, mainly for those fathers who came here on their own and did not cook for themselves. As soon as they were married they prepared German food at home, and all parents eat primarily or exclusively German food at home to this day. In seven of the twelve families the parents also mention that there was a complete lack of cultural entertainment here, and that they missed going to the theatre, opera, and concerts, or just being able to go dancing, to a pub or cafe.

The parents report only a few incidents of discrimination, most of which were not grounded in negative feelings about the Germans' role in the second world war, but rather in the perceived quick economic success of German immigrants in Alberta. It was mainly the fathers, who had more outside contacts at their work-place than most of the mothers, who were exposed to prejudicial remarks, but they say that this did not affect them, they either ignored the person or retorted in kind.

One perception which all children share about their respective families is the impression of having grown up in a very close family. Although this means different things for different families, it always included eating together, the parents spending time with their children, and – with the exception of the two farm-boys – going on a summer vacation as a family. [31] Other perceptions which the children have about their families, as well as their shared stereotypes about Germans, are collected in Table 11, which also includes some demographic data. A detailed description of the columns in Table 11 looks as follows.

Col. 1: refugee
all mothers and fathers who lost their home before deciding to emigrate, i.e. all Volksdeutschen plus the Reichsdeutschen of the of the Eastern Areas

Col. 2: religious
families in which the child and at least one parent are regular church attenders and members of their church community

Col. 3: language retention

---

[31] This perception of having a close family is probably fairly accurate, not only in comparison with Canadian families, but also in more general terms, because German parents of that generation were found to focus their social interests on the family. Schelsky (1975, 195) conducted extensive sociological research on German families between 1945 and 1955, and as a result of these investigations he points out that the events of the war, and the complete breakdown of all societal and governmental institutions, led to the perception of the family connection as the last resort of stability and social support. Schelsky further mentions that the societal events of flight and expulsion led to a strong social isolation of the families. All these experiences strengthened the solidarity function of the family, moving the unity of family members into the foreground of family needs and expectations . (cf. Schelsky 1975, p. 106-108)

	refugee																
	mother	father	religious	language retention	in-group marriage	university education	sibling order	discipline	tidiness	good manners	strict parents	hard working	sociable	aggressive	thrifty	care for possessions	childrearing: obediance
Birgit	*					*	1(1)		*	*	*	*	*				*
Claudia							3(4)		*	*	*		*	*			
Daniel		*	*	*	*	*	4(4)			*		*		*			
Eric		*	*			*	1(3)				*	*	*				*
Irma		*	*	*	*	*	1(2)		*	*	*	*					*
Julius	*	*				*	2(4)	*		*	*	*					*
Karl	*	*	*		*	*	1(5)			*		*		*			
Petra	*		*	*	*	*	1(4)			*	*	*	*		*		*
Ray							1(2)	*	*		*	*	*			*	*
Susanne	*		*	*	*	*	1(5)		*	*	*	*			*	*	*
Veronika							1(2)	*	*	*	*		*				*
Wolfgang							4(6)		*		*	*	*				*

Table 11: Summary of the Case Reports

children who still speak German to their parents

Col. 4: in-group marriage
children who are or intend to get married to a person of German background

Col. 5: university education
children who attend or graduated from university

Col. 6: sibling order
child is number X of (Y) children in the family

Col. 7: discipline
children who feel that discipline was emphasized in their family

Col. 8: tidiness
children who feel their parents emphasized tidiness and cleanliness

Col. 9: manners
children who feel they had to behave well and/or show good table manners

Col. 10: strict parents
children who considered their parents strict

Col. 11: hard working
children who perceive Germans as hard working

Col. 12: sociable
children who think Germans are more sociable, appreciate life more, or have more fun than Canadians

Col. 13: aggressive
children who regard Germans as aggressive; physically and/or psychologically

Col. 14: thrifty
children who think Germans are thrifty

Col. 15: care for possessions
children who feel that Germans take better care of their possesions than Canadians

Col. 16: childrearing: obedience
children who would emphasize obedience in raising their own offspring

The next chapter will relate the observations of Table 11 to each other and to the patterns of family evolution described in each case.

V. Interpretation and Discussion

The foregoing analyses of the evolution of German immigrant families in the Canadian cultural context suggest that there are many different ways to undergo the transition from being German to becoming Canadian. This study investigated the process for the first two generations, and an examination of the dynamics of cultural change amongst parents and children crystallizes three approaches to acculturation, differing in the extent to which parents and/or children identify with Canada. These three forms of adaptation can be regarded as the two endpoints and the midpoint of a continuum on which the families can be placed. In the following discussion I shall outline these three approaches in their idealized, abstract form and then illustrate my position by fitting each family onto a space of the continuum, describing how and where they differ from or resemble each other. Afterwards six themes closely related to the cultural transition of the interviewed families will be discussed separately, but with specific reference to the outlined forms of acculturation.

A. Evolution of Immigrant Families in the New Cultural Environment

One of the most obvious differences in the evolution of the German immigrant families can be found in the speed with which they undergo the process of cultural transition. On the one end of this continuum of rapidity of cultural change are found those families in which the parents (or first generation immigrants) play the major role in the acculturation process. In families found around the midpoint of the continuum, it is mainly the children (or second generation Canadians) who fullfill this task. The other endpoint is marked by families in which the process of cultural transition has been delayed and/or obstructed, and its completion is left to the third or a later generation. The following section outlines the three forms of cultural change, which correspond to the three points on the continuum, in more detail.

Three Forms of Cultural Transition as Points on a Continuum

1. Major Cultural Transition within the Parent Generation

A family at this extreme of the continuum is characterized by the parents' positive identification with Canada and its culture, expressed in their effort to become part of it. This means they actively try to master the language, speak mainly

English amongst themselves and raise their children with English as a first language. Furthermore, the majority of the family's social contacts are with Canadians, and the children are brought up in a way that at least outwardly does not distinguish them from their Canadian peers. As far as the relationship between parents and children is concerned, it is indicative of this type of family that the parents insist on their right to have a life of their own and do not sacrifice it completely for their children; rather they enjoy the advantages of the new country themselves as well as providing their children with opportunities.

In regard to the children's experiences of culture conflict, it is possible that some of them remain more or less completely unaware of their parents' different cultural background and do not encounter any problems. If the children are conscious of their ethnic origin it can be expected that they still experience very little internal conflict since they and their families resemble the families of their peers. In the event of externally caused conflict, such as occurrences of prejudice, the family is likely to be able to resolve the problem positively as the parents are knowledgeable of both cultures and thus speak with authority and experience when putting the stereotypes into context.

2. Major Cultural Transition within the Child Generation

In families found around the midpoint of the continuum the parents adapt to and accept a Canadian way of life as far as their dealings with Canadian society and its institutions are concerned. However, they also positively identify themselves as Germans, speak German to each other and maintain a German lifestyle at home. Most, but not all, of their social contacts are with fellow German immigrants. They show tolerance for at least some other ethnic groups and expect to be treated equally tolerantly. The parents chose Canada as the family's new home country and realize that it is important for their children to be more like their Canadian peers in order to become integrated members of Canadian society and possibly progress upwards in it. Thus, when the children enter school the parents allow them to conform to the norms of their peers, they encourage friendships with classmates and tolerate the fact that the children speak more and more English, at least amongst themselves. The parents might also take the opportunity to learn through their children about Canadian society and history as well as to improve their English. In these families the parents concentrate more of their efforts on attaining a better life for their children and not so much for themselves. The parents enjoy life, but their ambitions rest with the children. The children then face the task of learning to be Canadian through school and peers, having the emotional support of their parents who otherwise lead a different life at home and are relatively ignorant about what goes on in other Canadian families. Thus, implicitly, the children have a responsibility to educate their parents in order to facilitate the family's integration into Canadian society, and – to varying degrees – the parents become dependent on their children for this.

The children in these families are likely to perceive some culture conflict, as their family is obviously different from those of their Canadian peers because they speak a different language at home and do some other things differently as well. Because of these apparent differences they might also encounter some confrontations with other people in regard to their ethnic background. These conflicts are not always easily resolved as the child is faced with the problem of simultaneously identifying with apparently different ways of life and of somehow integrating these. However, some parental support and understanding in this task can be expected.

3. Delayed Cultural Transition

A family on this end of the continuum resembles a relic of a past German society surviving in a Canadian environment perceived more or less as inimical or hostile. A major characteristic of these families is their resistance to change. The parents adapt to Canadian society only as much as is necessary to be able to live within it, which, however, usually includes sending their children to Canadian schools. They aim to uphold and perpetuate whatever they regard as German culture and lifestyle, wanting their children to become defenders of this German ideal as well. To achieve this the parents have to guard against outside influences by minimizing their contacts with Canadians or Canadianized Germans, and they have only a few selected friends who share their ideals and myths. Since the families are cut off from their culture of origin, they are not part of the ongoing change that takes place within that society, i. e. in Germany. On the other hand they refuse to be part of societal change in Canada, thus stagnating at that point of their evolution they had reached when emigrating.

It seems unavoidable that the children encounter conflicts upon entering school when they discover that their classmates live in a different world. The resolution of this conflict is difficult for the children, as both school environment and parents place strong and opposing demands on the child: to be Canadian vs to be German, and neither side shows much sympathy or understanding for the other position. The parents either ignore the existence of the conflict or treat it as an unavoidable evil the child has to go through. The child is likely to experience the conflict all the way through school when there is hardly any choice but to spend part of the day at home and part of it at school. The possible solutions are that either the child breaks with the parents, completely identifies with them and perpetuates their lifestyle, or that somehow the family as a whole becomes unstuck and starts to evolve towards becoming an integrated part of their social environment; a process in which the child could be the pushing part. If the latter does not happen and if the child does not break with the parents, a pattern of strong mutual dependence is likely to develop between child and parents. In their aim to perpetuate the myths of a German culture, the family becomes suspicious of and deny themselves access to many resources available in Canadian society, thus leaving hardly anybody but themselves to rely on for sharing comfort, joy, or sorrow.

Positioning of the Interviewed Families on the Continuum

As pointed out earlier, the three described forms of cultural transition are of an ideal and abstracted kind, used to mark the two poles and centrepoint of an envisioned continuum along which the interviewed German immigrant families can be clustered according to how quickly they adapted to Canadian culture. None of the families fits exactly one of those points as the process of cultural change is far too complex to be reduced to one or two dimensions. However, the idea of the continuum is a useful construct to bring some order into the discovered differences and similarities among the families.

Starting at the pole of first generation cultural transition, the R. family comes closest to the described form of fast acculturation. The parents actively strove to integrate themselves into Canadian society by adopting English as their primary language of discourse, participating in social activities with other Canadians, and raising their sons much like their Canadian neighbours. However, although Mr. and Mrs. R. insist that they be treated as full-fledged Canadians by other people, they know and admit to themselves that inside they are still very German as far as certain values are concerned, some of which they also transmitted to their sons. But for Ray, and partly also for his parents, these cultural attributes have become personal characteristics which can easily be integrated with his identification as a Canadian.

The other families that are closer to this end of the continuum, that is somewhere between it and the centre, are those of Veronika, Wolfgang, Claudia, and Eric. One thing these families have in common is that the parents stayed and settled in Canada because they saw advantages for themselves and not only for their children: the W.s fullfilled their dream of owning a farm, the C.s built up their own business, the V.s generally enjoyed life in Canada and achieved a comfortable standard of living which allows them to pursue their hobby of travelling extensively, and the E.s found the essential things they were asking for in life: having plenty to eat and drink and many friends.

Of this group only Mr. and Mrs. V. raised their children with English as a first language, while the other parents spoke German at home, and expected their children to learn English from friends or at school. All parents allowed their children to speak English at home, and some - the V.s, E.s, and C.s - also made an effort to teach their children German. However, when encountering resistance the parents did not keep insisting that their children spoke German as this was not an issue of prime importance. The parents were more concerned that their children grew up as Canadians and would be well integrated with their peers. All families have a variety of social contacts, including many with English speaking Canadians whom they met as neighbours, at the workplace, or while pursuing their hobbies. The parents have maintained German traditions at home to varying degrees, with Mr. and Mrs. W. still conducting their daily affairs as they used to, while Mr. and Mrs. E. report that their whole lifestyle has become Canadian. Some of these differences are probably due to the amount of direct contact with other Canadians: the

W.s live on a farm and basically work by themselves, whereas both Mr. and Mrs. E. spend a major part of their day working in a factory together with other Canadians. As far as the retention of German traditions in the second generation is concerned, it is interesting to note that only the women, and not the men, say that they like to and do keep up some of the German things their families did, e. g. food and celebrations. This observation is consistent with the frequently encountered conception of the woman as the guardian of family traditions. Another interesting common feature of the children in this group is their choice of a spouse. None of them is married to a person from a German background, something which can be taken as an indicator of completed cultural transition.

The families of Karl, Susanne, Petra, and Daniel are placed around the midpoint of the continuum, with Karl's being closest to the group described in the previous paragraphs and the other families approximating more the opposite pole. All parents in this group retained German traditions and values in their home and in their social relations with other people, that is they raised their children in a consciously German fashion at home, speaking German and engaging in activities they were used to from their own childhood, and their social life revolved around other German immigrants, i. e. the extended family and/or church groups. However, the parents expected their children to learn English at school, to make friends there, and to be integrated well enough to be successful and well liked students. Mrs. K. actively prepared Karl for the different school context, whereas the other parents left it up to the children to deal with the encounter of a new cultural plus a new social environment. Mrs. D. trusted that her children could cope with the new situation, while it seems that Mrs. P. and Mrs. S. could not help their children very much in this respect because of their own ignorance of Canadian children's culture. The fathers do not enter the picture on this issue, being too occupied with earning a living at that stage. All the parents encouraged their children to bring Canadian friends home and accommodated the latter by making them feel welcome and switching to the English language. In this way they tried to facilitate their children's integration into Canadian society. The S.s and K.s clearly state that their goal in Canada was to obtain a better life for their children, and the P.s and D.s also spent great efforts on providing opportunities for their children. One way of achieving this is through success at school, and consequently it was very important for these parents that their children were good students. Daniel and Susanne report that they felt pressure to study hard, while Petra and Karl were diligent students without perceiving pressure.

The parents' preference not to mix very much with Canadians and rather to preserve German traditions in the more intimate setting of family life is partly expressed in their adherence to German as the language of discourse within the family. With the exception of the K.s, the parents in this group still require that their children speak German to them. Since the parents' social activities took place within groups of German immigrants, the children also had a fair amount of contact with other German immigrant children and formed friendships with them. Susanne, Petra, and Karl are married to a spouse from a German family, and Daniel also says he would prefer a wife from the same background. [39] Both men gave as reasons for their choice a desire to maintain some of the family traditions they grew up with, which to them seems rather difficult with a wife from another background. For the women this reason was not so important as they were confident of being able to keep up some of the traditions even with a husband from a different ethnic group. To marry a man from a German family was not the chief priority for them, but it was quite high on the list primarily in consideration of their parents. Karl and Daniel also feel that a German woman would get along much better with their parents and thus make life easier for everyone involved.

The children in this group identify themselves as definitely Canadian, although they have chosen to retain some German traditions in their daily home-life. However, as far as the upbringing of their own children is concerned, they state that it would be most important that they fit in with their Canadian peers, and that their retention of the German language and other cultural aspects would be desirable but not essential. Through their own experience of growing up here, Karl, Petra, Susanne, and Daniel are knowledgable of Canadian society and its institutions as well as of the more intimate sphere of family life, so that they are not likely to have any problems educating their children in such a way that the latter will not experience any culture conflict.

The remaining three families cannot be treated as a homogeneous group, but on the continuum they are the ones closest to the extreme of delayed cultural transition, with Irma's family being nearest to the pole, preceded by that of Julius and then Birgit's.

---

[39] It might be interesting to note, that the already married siblings of these four people also chose a spouse from a German background.

The one thing that these three children have in common which sets them apart from the others is their uncertainty about whether they would like to live permanently in Canada. Birgit and Julius think it is probable as they like Canada and feel comfortable here, but they are also considering a change in favour of a more exciting lifestyle in Europe (Birgit) or better job opportunities anywhere (Julius). Irma thinks she will stay in Canada although she does not really feel at home here, but she does not believe she has a realistic choice of moving to Germany.

Birgit's family is the most difficult one to place on the continuum as it shows characteristics that seem contradictory. Part of the problem stems from the fact that in this case it is most obvious that the parents cannot be conceived of as one unit. It is one of the three instances where the parents met in Canada and thus did not immigrate with a common understanding. Mr. B. found better job opportunities and was ready to become Canadian himself, which is also expressed in his willingness to speak English with his daughter when she objected to using German. Superficially the same approach seemed to hold true for Mrs. B., and accordingly the family should be placed much closer to the opposite end of the continuum. However, regarding the upbringing of Birgit, it is evident that Mrs. B.'s concern to raise a child whom she could be proud of in Germany, i. e. a girl representing German virtues and manners, overrode her intention to allow Birgit to become Canadian. It was through Mr. B.'s intervention that some of the pressure was taken off Birgit when she encountered culture conflicts. Mrs. B. could not fully comprehend her daughter's problems nor the latter's reaction to these difficulties and continued to model Birgit after the idea of a German woman who could make it in Canada. This pervasive principle of Mrs. B. is the reason for placing the family closer to the pole of delayed transition, although other behaviour of Mrs. B. and Mr. B. cancels its effects to a large extent. Nevertheless, Brigit is one of the three interviewed children who are not absolutely sure of their commitment to Canada. This is not a problem for her in any negative sense as she feels at home and is accepted by her peers in Canada, but it indicates that a complete cultural transition has not yet taken place in the B. family. Rather, Birgit gives the clearest example of a personal integration of two cultures into something new and unique.

In the J. family the parents maintained pride in their particular German heritage and tried to live up to it as well as possible, isolating themselves and raising their children according to traditional ideals. The parents did not want to adopt a Canadian way of life and thinking, nor had they any interest in their children doing this. When Julius encountered culture conflict at school, his parents did not reduce the stress by giving in and allowing him to be like his peers in some aspects, rather they kept demanding that he meet the behaviour standards of a son of a "good family". After finishing high school, Julius escaped the continuous and immediate pressure of the conflict by leaving home and moving some distance from his parents, thus drastically decreasing his contact with them. However, breaking away from his parents has not resolved the problems for Julius, his upbringing still poses questions for him as to who and what he is or would like to be. He vehemently objects to being called a German, but he does not feel totally Canadian either. In his case the process of cultural change is still in full motion and one cannot predict which way it will go and when it will draw to a completion.

In Irma's family the adherence to German cultural ideals by her father and grandparents is comparable to the approach displayed by the J. family. In addition to that Mrs. I. is also a strictly religious person who expected her children to conform to fairly rigid forms of behaviour and thinking. On the one hand, religious affiliation provided Irma with a group of peers who were in a similar situation to her. On the other hand, it also prevented her from attempting Julius' way of resolving the culture conflict, since a separation from her parents would also necessitate breaking with her belief system which requires her to honour her parents and not to criticize them. Julius shares his parents' belief in personal independence, and parting with them is consistent with this conviction, allowing him to maintain essential aspects of the ideological system he was brought up with. Although rebelling, Irma stays within the boundaries her family set for her, which limit her access to both, present day German and Canadian forms of social intercourse. She is married to a man of the same faith and background, and is raising her son with German as a first language and according to her religious beliefs. In the I. family the process of cultural transition is still in its initial stages, and although Irma knows how Canadian children grow up, it is not clear whether and how much her son will profit from this in terms of experiencing less culture conflict than his mother.

B. Themes Associated with Forms of Cultural Transition

The preceding section described how the interviewed families vary in their approach to cultural transition. The following part discusses six topics associated with the various forms of cultural transition in more detail. The topics all constitute part of the process of cultural transition of immigrant families, but they differ in their relation to it. Some of them can be regarded as antecedents, partly influencing the approach a given family will take, while others represent aspects of the outcome of the process at any given time. The choice of the topics was guided by the apparent importance they have for different forms of cultural change, and by the interest of this study in the development of immigrant children. [40]

The Mind-Set that Makes the Difference: Looking for Change vs Looking for Stability

The most important issue in terms of the rapidity of cultural transition within the family are the parents' intentions underlying their decision to stay in Canada. These ambitions reflect a complex set of ideas which not only guide the parents' behaviour in contact with their new environment but also influence the upbringing of their children; the child-rearing principles they apply and the range of tolerance they allow. The essence of the different mind-sets which constitute a framework for the families' interactions lies in the distinction between an inclination to look for change versus a disposition to look for stability. [41] This difference has to be conceived of as a matter of degree,i.e. some families are looking for more change than others, who are primarily occupied with establishing a new stability in their lives. People who aim at a lot of changes do so in a variety of areas, in their jobs, their social contacts, their spare time activities, or in their homes. With reference to the above outlined continuum, the parents closer to the pole of rapid acculturation are open to changes occurring in their lives, while the ones around the centre and towards the other pole are more interested in stability and preserving a customary way of life. In looking at the background of the families, one notices that the mind-sets coincide with the parents' histories. With the exception of the E.s and D.s the following holds true: of the families who are inclined towards change both parents grew up in areas that are currently part of the FRG, and they left their home in order to come to Canada; whereas in the other families, who have a propensity for stability, at least one parent [42] grew up in a place which is now outside the boundaries of both German states and thus lost his or her home as a result of the war. These parents did not give up their home by choice, and it is understandable that one of their major concerns would be to rebuild what they lost, with different people putting different emphases on the various aspects they associate with "home". Most of them also emigrated as part of their original family, thus carrying over old and treasured contacts.

---

[40] Evidently, the selection of topics is also limited by the availability of data collected from the families. There are at least two other important issues which are related to the different experiences of the German immigrant children, and these are the topics of sex-differences and sibling order. Since only one child per family was interviewed, there is not sufficient information to discuss how children of the same immigrant family grow up differently according to their sex or position within the sibling order, although several remarks by the respondents indicate that these are significant themes.

[41] "Mind-set" is used as a construct to describe the system of interactions of a family, by no means do I wish to imply that families have "collective minds" which are responsible for their actions.

The connection between the biographical facts and a person's approach to acculturation makes it obvious that the inclination towards change is not a mere idiosyncratic personality feature, but is strongly influenced by historical, socio-political circumstances. This is not to say that a family's process of cultural transition is determined by the parents' history of settlement, but that the latter is an important aspect in understanding this process better. As the case descriptions show, there are different ways of achieving change or stability, corresponding to the interests and beliefs of the people involved.

Another less accurate but maybe more illustrative way to describe the different mind-sets would be to distinguish between people who come as adventurers and those who are refugees. The L family is the best example of the latter, since they came directly to Canada after escaping from the GDR. The parents' report of their original expectations of Canada is striking: they did not have any dreams about it, all they wanted was a place to live and enough food to eat. All the other parents, who had stayed for at least a few years in the FRG before emigrating, had some hopes and expectations of new and different opportunities, if not for themselves then for their children, whereas it seems that the Ls basically wanted to re-establish a particular way of life they were prevented from leading in the GDR.

---

[42] and this includes all mothers except for Mrs. L, who fled from the GDR

The preceding observations support the theories in Eisenstadt's study on "The Absorption of Immigrants" (1954), which relates motives of immigration to acculturation.[43] My choice of a different label, "mind-set", for what in this context appears to be a very similar construct to "motives" does not merely constitute a semantic contrast, but implies a different epistemological emphasis. Logically, motives exist at the time of immigration and are unalterable thereafter, thus postulating a linear cause and effect model of acculturation, with the fullfillment or frustration of the immigrants' expectations being the key variable. The described mind-sets, however, comprise patterns of behaviour and values that include much more than the motivation to immigrate. Furthermore, the mind-sets continue to change with time, and some of these changes may be significant moves to the opposite pole. That is to say, although the parents' initial outlook toward stability or change influences their path in the new culture, there is always the possibility that due to various reasons this outlook will be altered, simultaneously redirecting the family's process of cultural transition. My approach of using mind-sets as explanatory constructs focusses on the patterns of social relations which are exhibited within the families and in their contacts with the outside. The mind-sets are not necessarily and not only shifted by the frustration of the parents' expectations of the new country, but changes in outlook can also be provoked by occurrences between family members. These shifts always involve a major re-orientation and thus do not happen easily. Mr. E. is an example in which the non-fullfillment of his dream to become a big, rich rancher apparently did not significantly alter his ideals of life in Canada, since he satisfied them in a different way.

The next section examines how contacts with people from the same ethnic group are related to the mind-sets and the latter's possibility for change.

---

[43] Eisenstadt's analysis is based on the premise that the integration of immigrants is "the outcome of the interplay between the immigrants' own desires and expectations with regard to the new country, and the extent to which these can be realized in terms of the various demands made on the immigrants by the institutional structure of the absorbing society". (p. 258) As far as the immigrants' motives are concerned, Eisenstadt argues that their analysis is of crucial importance, because the initial motivation "constitutes the first stage of the process of social change inherent in any migration and in the absorption of the immigrants, and this first stage largely influences the subsequent stages inasmuch as it decides the immigrants' orientation and degree of readiness to accept change." (p. 4)

Religious Affiliation and the Different Mind-Sets

An observation that catches the eye when comparing the families which show first generation acculturation with those exhibiting cultural change in the second generation is the differnce in affiliation with ethnic churches. In the first group only the E.s are affiliated with a church, and that is a multicultural, anglophone church of their denomination. Some of the other families also describe themselves as religious, but they are not members of a church community. In contrast, the four families in the second group are members of German Protestant churches, and a large part of their social life revolves around the church communities.

It makes sense that frequent ethnic contact is related to a slower process of cultural transition, as this gives people the opportunity to practice cultural traditions also outside the immediate family. In a study using a path-analysis Kim (1980) found that the more ethnic contact an immigrant has, the slower his or her acculturation. This finding is interpreted in a causal manner, stating that "the data indicate that one's heavy dependence on ethnic institutions has a damaging effect on acculturation." Although the facts of the present study corroborate Kim's results, their interpretation has to be very different in this context. First of all, no linear causality can be assumed, and secondly the quality of ethnic contact has to be examined; for the issue under discussion an ethnic religious affiliation is not the same as an ethnic club membership, it is more and less than that at the same time.

Both, a family's ethnic church membership and its slower cultural change can be regarded as two expressions of the same thing: a mind-set which is characterized by an emphasis on stability. This means that they are related not by a causal link, but rather as parts of a more comprehensive whole. [44] Churches, in particular, are amongst the more conservative, stability providing institutions and thus can serve as a gathering point for people looking for stability. Other ethnic associations can fullfill a similar function, although they are also perhaps used as vehicles to gain acceptance within the dominant culture, as Mr. C.'s example of a business lobby group illustrates.

---

[44] The reverse and equally inadequate argument to "the effects of ethnic contact on acculturation" can easily be put forward: a person does not want to become part of the dominant cultural environment and this leads to increased contact with people of the same ethnic group.

The qualitative difference that distinguishes churches from most other ethnic associations lies in the shared values and beliefs of the various groups: religious beliefs are the bond which holds church members together, and these beliefs are the very essence of their lives; whereas other ethnic associations are often established for the pursuit of common interests which are not satisfied by the mainstream culture. Members of these groups do not necessarily share the same values, and the groups exist specifically for the preservation of certain aspects of ethnic culture. The German churches also fullfill this function, as they have their origin in that culture and have become part of it. However, the retention of cultural traditions is subordinate to their prime purpose of existence, which is the preservation of religious beliefs. Thus, the churches are "more" than other ethnic groups as their membership is held together by something that goes far beyond a shared ethnic culture, and they are "less" if it comes to the preservation of purely cultural traditions, since – in a forced choice – they are likely to abandon these in favour of the religious beliefs.

The P.s' case provides an example of the last point, and at the same time illustrates how a mind-set can be shifted. In the early period of their stay in Canada the P.s would have been placed close to the pole of delayed transition on the continuum, as they not only preserved German traditions in all possible areas of life (Mr. P. felt he was living in "Little Germany"), but also wanted their children to grow up as little Germans. When their church faced the problem of losing young members due to its adherence to the German language, the church community, and within it the P.s, gave up German and switched to English as the language for the services in order to preserve the religious beliefs in the next generation. For Mr. P. especially, this change of attitude in the most important institution of his life was accompanied by shifts in outlook in other areas: acceptance of English in church also meant being more open to it elsewhere. Thus it may be said that an institution of stability – here the religious community – can also facilitate shifts of a person's mind-set towards more inclination to change. Although it is a hypothetical question to ask how the P. family would have evolved if this shift had not occurred, I would dare to speculate that Petra would have encountered quite a few problems of culture conflict as a teenager had her father persisted in his belief that only German ways of behaviour are acceptable.

The next section looks at the ways in which the children of the different families experienced culture conflict and how it was solved.

The Difference in Being Different

The starting point and one of the central issues of this study is the question "what does it mean to be an immigrant child?". The consistent reply from the interviewed children for whom this question had any significance was: "It means being different." With the exception of Ray and Wolfgang they had all noticed that their families were somehow different. However, the significance and value attributed to this perception varies, across the families and over time within the life-span of the children. The latter variation seems to be more significant than the former and will thus provide the guideline for the ensuing discussion, while the family differences will be interjected when appropriate.

When observing how the connotation of "being different" changes over time for the individual from negative to special or positive (which was most explicitly illustrated by Birgit and Claudia), it seems appropriate to relate this change to individual development in general. Due to the nature of "being different", which directly involves the comparison of the person with the social environment, a developmental approach which addresses this issue is of best use in the present context, and therefore references will be made to the stages of psychosocial development outlined by E. Erikson (1968). [45]

During the years of childhood before entering school, when the child's primary and often almost exclusive contacts are within the family, [46] the probability of occurrences of culture conflict is very low. Erikson points out that at this age the child "is, of course, deeply and exclusively 'identified' with the parents, who most of the time appear to be powerful and beautiful, although often quite unreasonable, disagreeable, and even dangerous." [47] This implies that the child adopts and models the parents' behaviour and values to a large extent. The child entering school comes into contact with a new social environment, and by getting to know fellow students is likely to notice the differences between herself and her family and her classmates and their families. In the cases of this study the differences ranged from being comparatively poor, not having grandparents in Canada, eating different kinds of food, speaking a different language at home, to having different manners, and being dressed differently. The age of middle childhood is also characterized by the development of standards of self-evaluation, and Rappoport (1972, p. 217) states that "No matter how she is treated by parents or other relevant adults, every child comes to judge herself according to peer standards." At this point the perceived differences begin to matter for a child, and depending on the particular differences and the child's way of coping with them, and at that age they assume more or less negative qualities, and are hardly ever positive. It seems that the more obvious and less possible to conceal the differences are, the more conflict they will create for a child. For example, Veronika was mainly disturbed by the fact that she did not have any grandparents in Canada, but this only became a problem on special occasions like Christmas when everyone else saw their grandparents. Thus, it did not create much difficulty for her, especially as she lived in an otherwise happy and "acceptable" family. Claudia was no different from her friends, but she was embarrassed by her mother's accent and certain public behaviours. Claudia's way of remediating this negative situation was to teach her mother, who also showed a willingness to learn. Karl, on the other hand, took the path of least resistance by not bringing many friends home where they would have noticed that his family was different. For a number of children one of the most troublesome differences appears to have been the way they were dressed, especially as many of them seem to have been quite unsuccessful in changing their mothers' ideas on this issue. Instead, they just had to suffer.

---

[45] cf. also Newman and Newman (1979).
[46] This was true in all the interviewed cases. However, since some children attend playschool from an early age on, the following comments might have to be re-evaluated.
[47] Erikson 1968, p. 115

If children at this age employ the standards of their peers, then it does not matter whether anyone else points out the difference, the child will evaluate them as negative in an attempt to more and more identify with peers. Almost all the interviewed children experienced that, and there do not seem to be considerable differences in ability to cope between the children of the families of first or second generation cultural change, as they were all allowed to be much like their peers outside the home. For the children of the third group it was more difficult to overcome the problem of being different, as their parents clearly wished them to retain certain German characteristics even with their peers. Birgit and Julius reacted to this by totally rejecting their parents' different behaviour, thus increasing the friction at home.

The issue of being like one's peers emerges in the early school years and becomes very important during adolescence, an age charaterised by conformity,[44] where differences are generally not well accepted. According to psychosocial theory adolescence is also the age of identity crisis when young people try to find out who they really are; and if they are aware that they are of recent German (or any other ethnic) background, this will be a theme to deal with in the search for identity. A special issue for the interviewed group were the events of the second world war, since their parents were members of a people who fought Canadians and in whose name genocide had been committed. Many children were indirectly afflicted by this, assuming some sort of inner responsibility and feeling uneasy about their background (e.g. Birgit, Claudia, Irma).

However, in late adolescence or early adulthood "being different" acquired a positive connotation for most of the interviewed children and they now relate favourably to their German background. With the exception of Birgit, none of the respondents described how this change came about as it was not through any one particular relevant event. For Birgit it was of major importance that she came to understand why her parents behaved the way they did, which meant she could then accept them and also identify more strongly with them. Rappoport (1972: 336) points out that at this age college students frequently mention the new perceptions of their parents, peers and their own status as individuals as most important changes in their personality, and that their comments about the self emphasize a new sense of unique individuality. As far as ethnic identification is concerned, it seems that the most critical issue is the relationship of the second generation men and women with their parents. "Being different" becomes a positive part of the 'sense of unique individuality' if the children were able to develop their identity within the context of their Canadian environment and also succeeded in accepting their parents for what they are without feeling compelled to be like them in every respect, but adopting those customs and attitudes which fit in with the rest of their life and self-understanding.

Prejudice was a non-issue for the interviewed children (with the exception of Julius), as it was never encountered directly. The foregoing discussion has to be regarded with that fact in mind, as it is possible that repeated experiences of discrimination would affect the process of accepting one's parents' background as well as the culture one lives in. It is nevertheless important to underscore that during their childhood and youth immigrant children associate negative feelings with their parents' background even when they are not confronted with it in any hostile way. The strength and salience of these feelings is related to their family's general inclination towards change or stability, and often these feelings assume a positive quality once the children have grown up and are ready to start their own family. It is also interesting to note that a number of the children pointed out that they have become very tolerant towards other cultural groups as a result of their experience as an immigrant child, thus reframing this experience as one of learning to accept other people no matter what background they come from.

---

[44] cf. Rappoport 1973, p. 283

Achievement Orientation

The interviews of this study give strong support to Danziger's (1971) findings [49] which indicate that German mothers have high educational aspirations for their sons. Here, not only all mothers of sons, but also all mothers of daughters wanted their children to attend university and they put a very high value on a good formal education as part of the upbringing of their children. The fathers, too, insisted that their children studied hard, i. e. at least that they did their homework every day, and that they received good marks. However, as far as the formal education of their daughters was concerned, not every father saw the use or necessity for his daughter to receive a university degree. Mr. I. and Mr. P. stated this quite clearly, but did not prevent their daughters from becoming teachers when the latter expressed their desire to go to university.

Although four of the interviewed children chose not to go to university, they, like the others, set high personal standards for achievement, basically accepting their parents' principles that one should enjoy one's work and that work should be done well no matter what it is. The children also emphasize the value of a good education for their own offspring, but for many of them that does not necessarily mean university.

When comparing the children who went to university with those who did not, a multitude of possible factors interplay to account for the different reasons for choosing an occupation, and the following discussion serves more to illuminate these possibilities than to give definitive explanations. First of all it should be pointed out that there is only one family in which none of the children old enough started university, namely the W.s. Part of this can certainly be attributed to their location; since growing up in a rural area, most of the children's friends were not geared towards higher education. Additionally, although the parents wanted their sons and daughters to do well in school and to continue their education afterwards, they did not believe in pushing them. Secondly, there are only two families in which all the children old enough attend(ed) university, the P.s and the I.s. [50] In light of these two facts, it seems to be more of a coincidence that Wolfgang, Ray, Veronika, and Claudia, the non-university children, belong to four of the five families identified as being inclined towards change rather than stability. It might be said that their parents allowed them to pursue interests more important to them than school-work and thus yielded to the individuality of the children. However, this does not quite fit for Veronika, who was a top student throughout school and then suddenly decided against a professional career when the one she had aimed for all her youth appeared unattainable. Another possible interpretation would be that for these parents university was not the only road to accomplishment in life, and that they saw many other possibilities for their children to succeed, some of which they had employed for themselves. Some of the parents of the university educated children saw other possibilities as well, though, and the difference might lie more in the way in which they conveyed the generally shared idea that a good education is the best thing that can be bestowed on a person. These parents stressed this conviction continually in front of the children and also saw to it that the children gave their best at school, by checking homework and working with them. The verbal emphasis was often coupled with the statement that "it will pay off later", thus also giving the children a long training in accepting delayed gratification. It should also be noticed that many children in this group are the oldest in their family, which might mean that they received more of their parents' attention as far as school-work is concerned than their younger siblings. It then seems only logical that the children who had been hard working, good students during most of their school life chose to attend university, as they had acquired the skills to master higher education. In doing this, some of them followed their parents' desires, while for others it was just the next logical step.

---

[49] cf. chapter II of this thesis

---

[50] And of course Birgit's family, as she is the only child.

The question that remains is why the parents put so much emphasis on a good education. Part of it is surely a cultural value, a combination of the fact that it was and is very prestigious in Germany to hold an academic degree (more so than in North America), and the notion – which holds at least for the parent generation – that school is work and should be done well. [51] Two other factors contribute to the stress on schooling; one is the function it serves in the person moving upward socially, as it is a direct route to obtain jobs in the higher income brackets. The other factor is one of intra family delegation. Some of the children mentioned that they had felt they were learning for their parents, and some parents directly addressed the issue: they were deprived of a higher education themselves due to the circumstances of the war or their family situation, and they now wanted their children to attain this goal in their place, since the opportunities existed in Canada. The delegation of academic achievement is fairly pronounced in this study, [52] and the high occurrence can be explained to a large extent by the events of the 1940's in Germany which interrupted or stopped the education of almost every young person.

Language Issues

It was surprising to find that the children do not recall any language difficulties. Apparently, some of the children did not have any problems, as they were taught English by their parents, while others do not remember their difficulties or do not attribute them to their language abilities. For example, the parents of Petra, Irma, and Susanne report that their daughters encountered considerable problems when entering school, because they spoke only German, but the children do not recall this at all. Of the other children only Veronika, Ray, and Karl were taught English by their parents before entering school, but the others had picked up words and phrases from older siblings or friends beforehand, and none remember having any difficulties with the English language either. That is to say, most parents, for whatever reason, left it entirely up to their children to learn English, and all the latter succeeded in doing so without the aid of any special programmes. Some of the children remember a good, understanding teacher who encouraged or a friend who taught them, but that seems to be about all it took to learn the language well enough to keep up and later excel in school.

---

[51] cf. Karr and Wesley(1966), who compared German and U. S. child-rearing practices in 1963. Amongst other findings their results showed that German parents are more concerned about table manners and schoolwork, whereas U. S. parents applied more pressure in getting children to join youth organisations and to attend church.

[52] It was mentioned by the families of Irma, Julius, Birgit, Petra, Eric, Veronika, and Ray that at least one parent did not reach the educational goal they felt capable of. In Daniel's, Karl's, Susanne's, Claudia's, and Wolfgang's family at least one parent graduated from the academic high school and thus saw the benefits for him- or herself and urged the children to do likewise.

These observations provoke two interesting statements, which at this point have the character of theses and not of factual claims. Firstly, language problems encountered by a child upon entering school do not seem to have any lasting detrimental effect on emotional or intellectual development if they are overcome with time, i. e. during elementary school. Secondly, children starting elementary school are able to learn English as a second language very well in the normal interaction with peers and teachers during the school-day, and do not require special instruction which takes them out of the classroom. In fact, considering what was mentioned earlier in this chapter about being different, it seems that taking a normally developed first-grader out of the room just to teach her the language would do more harm than good, because it would more than likely exagerate feelings of being different.

It should be noted, that the foregoing statements refer explicitly to children starting school in Canada in grade one, when not knowing the language is their only intellectual handicap. All the interviewed children had of course one great advantage: they had parents who cared about their academic achievement, even though they might not have been able to give a lot of direct help. This observation supports Danziger's assertion that immigrant parents make up for their language and academic handicaps through family solidarity and support. (cf. chapt. II)

The observations on language difficulties and those on feeling different can also be discussed in the context of research on bilingualism, especially the studies by Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukooma (1979) and by Cummins (1978a&b), which propose a linguistic threshold hypothesis stating that a child has to reach a certain level of linguistic competence in her mother-tongue before she can master instruction in a second language without becoming semilingual, which is synonymous with suffering negative cognitive effects. Cummins also proposes that positive cognitive effects ('additive bilingualism') will only result if the child attains a high level of competence in both languages. Cummins then goes on to argue that for both, francophone and non-official language children in Canada

> the basis for attaining an additive form of bilingualism lies in the adequate development of the child's L1 (mother-tongue). Because the influence of English in the wider environment is so pervasive this can only be achieved through promotion of L1 at school. ... Although for non-official minority groups the political and social arguments are less compelling than in the francophone situation, the educational argument applies just as much, if not more. We have a responsibility to inquire to what extent the educational experience we provide for minority language children is "submersive", and to what extent our failure to encourage the maintenance of their home language denies them the opportunity to develop a cognitively and culturally enriching form of additive bilingualism. (Cummins 1978a)

Although I would not want to argue with the intentions of Cummins' conclusions, the findings of this study throw a different light on the effects and value of mother-tongue maintenance, and they present a warning that educators should not lose sight of the social development of a child, especially the need to identify with peers, in efforts to provide equal educational opportunities for minority children. Firstly, teaching a non-English language at school is not the only way to maintain it, as is illustrated by at least four children in this study. Under certain conditions it can be achieved in the home, one being the parents' strong interest in retaining it. Secondly, after what has been said about being different, a child's mother-tongue would have to be presented very carefully in school, so as not to single the child out as being different; it seems that mother-tongue maintenance programmes are only feasible in areas where large numbers of immigrants from the same culture settle (which, on the other hand, would make them different as a group). Thirdly, the parents have to be consulted about whether they want their children to receive instruction in the parents' first language. This study indicates that there are some parents who would prefer their children to speak only English, at least until they reach high school; as the attitude towards language retention is related to their mind-set regarding change.

Another issue addressed in the interviews was that of bilingualism in general. None of the children saw anything wrong with knowing and speaking two languages, and all mentioned one or more advantages of bilingualism, including better occupational opportunities, easier travelling, increased cognitive flexibility, and a higher appreciation for other cultures and peoples. However, when it comes to having to learn or teach one's own children a second language, the opinions are not as unanimous. Of the children who attended Saturday school only Daniel did not mind it, and of the other children only

Veronika thinks that she might have liked going to a German school. The others resented the idea of an additional school day. All the interviewed children think it would be nice if their own offspring could speak German, but they do not believe in night- or Saturday school. The options considered are a bilingual school or the home, neither of which are always feasible, because of inaccessibility, preference for a religious school, or because the interviewed children do not have the energy or do not speak German well enough to teach it. It is very clear that teaching their own children German is only a priority for those interviewed children who speak it well and frequently themselves, i. e. Daniel, Irma, Petra, and Susanne. They are the ones who still converse in German with their parents, owing mainly to the latter's insistence on speaking German in their homes.

For these four people speaking German is one of the aspects that makes their families special, and language appeared as an indicator of being different in the negative sense in the childhood experiences of some of them. On the other hand, others, who also feel that their families are special because of their German background, e. g. Veronika and Claudia, do not include speaking the language as an essential part of it. These examples show that language is an important expression of culture, but they also warn against treating language and culture as identical. One might even question how essential a language is to its corresponding culture, but that would lead us astray in the present context. However, what will be addressed is the issue of how culture is communicated in other ways than through its corresponding language. The focus will be on non-verbal behaviour, although it is conceivable that the English language is used to transmit parts of German culture from one generation to the next.

The Resistance of Food Habits to Change or The Power of Ritualized Behaviour

The investigation of the process of non-verbal transmission of culture, or some aspects of it, was not part of this study at its conception, i. e. the interview schedule did not contain questions specifically addressing that issue. I asked the families questions regarding the retention of cultural values, attitudes, traditions, etc., but these do not apply here directly as they concern the 'what' and not the 'how' of cultural transmission. However, it was through the answers to these questions that my interest was triggered and that the ensuing discussion was finally provoked.

There are two German traditions which all parents have kept alive: the way of celebrating Christmas and of preparing and eating food. Similarly, these two customs were repeatedly cited by the children in response to the question of what German culture meant for them personally. At first glance these findings do not seem extraordinarily significant, rather they could more or less be expected and become almost trivial. [53] Taking a second and third look, however, I began to wonder why some people who change a lot of things in their lives, including their language, do not adopt different food habits as well, and why for the children food and family-culture are so closely related. The second question can be answered regarding food, or 'the way mother used to cook', as an essential and very obvious part of the notion 'home', symbolizing a host of associations which are hard to describe. Schutz analyzes the meaning of 'home' in the following way.

> 'To feel at home' is an expression of the highest degree of familiarity and intimacy. Life at home follows an organized pattern of routine; it has its well-determined goals and well-proved means to bring them about, consisting of a set of traditions, habits, institutions, timetables for activities of all kinds, etc. Most of the problems of daily life can be mastered by following this pattern. There is no need to define or redefine situations which have occurred so many times or to look for new solutions of old problems hitherto handled satisfactorly. The way of life at home governs a scheme of expression and interpretation of not only my own acts but also those of the other members of the in-group. ...
> Of course, there are new situations, unexpected events. But at home, even the deviations from the daily routine life are mastered in a way defined by the general style in which people at home deal with extraordinary situations. There is a way - a proved way ¬ for meeting a crisis in business life, for settling family problems, for determining the attitudes toward illness and even death. Paradoxically formulated, there is even a routine way for handling the novel. (Schutz 1971, p. 108/109)

Eating is one of the daily activities which follows certain patterns within a family, and these patterns not only consist of how one eats but also what one eats. They are partly culturally determined and partly characteristics of the individual family. Since eating is something people engage in every day, if for no other reason than physical survival, the habits developed in connection with the consumption of food are repeated so frequently that they become inextricably associated with 'home', and in our case with 'my parents' culture'.

---

[53] Food habits and celebrations are often used as indicators on ethnic identity scales; and it also appears to be a generally recognized fact that food is probably the most persistent aspect of ethnocultural traditions. (cf. Bahrer-Stein, 1979, p. VII)

Regularly repeated patterns of activities can also be regarded as ritualized behaviour, and in doing this a new understanding of the persistence of food habits as well as of the transmission of culture can be arrived at. Erik Erikson (1977) regards the ritualization of everyday life as a very important function in helping a person find a place in society. Before a more detailed account of his ideas is presented, a definition of ritual or ritualized behaviour as used in this context will be provided. Tambiah (1981) defines ritual as

> a culturally constructed system of symbolic communication. It is constituted of patterned and ordered sequences of words and acts, often expressed in multiple media, whose content and arrangement are characterized in varying degree by formality (conventionality), stereotypy (rigidity), condensation (fusion), and redundancy (repetition). (Tambiah 1981, p. 119)

He furthermore points out that ritualized, stereotyped behaviour is constructed in order to express and communicate, and is publicly construed as expressing and communicating, certain attitudes congenial to an ongoing institutionalized intercourse. Consequently ritual is a disciplined rehearsal of 'right attitudes'. Tambiah regards ritual as a special kind of social communication which "portrays many features that have little to do with the transmission of new information and everything to do with interpersonal orchestration and with social integration and continuity." (p. 133)

The last point becomes very important in Erikson's discussion of the effect of ritualized daily behaviour on the development of an individual. In reference to a ritualisation of food consumption Erikson (1977, p. 82 ff) claims that amongst other things ritualisation accomplishes the following:

- It elevates the satisfaction of immediate needs into the context of a communal actuality.
- In teaching a sanctioned way of doing simple and daily things, it transforms the infantile sense of omnipotence into a joint sense of manifest destiny.
- It deflects feelings of unworthiness onto outsiders within and without one's culture who are excluded or exclude themselves from knowing the right way.
- It develops the experience of a social differentiation essential to one of the major institutions of any functioning society, e. g. the discrimination between prescribed and good behaviour and shameful or guilty acts.

In fact, an essential aspect of ritualized behaviour is the implied severe discrimination between the sanctioned and the out-of-bounds, between acceptable and intolerable ways of doing things.

A child grows up with the various family rituals, acquiring through them a knowledge of how things should be done, and as long by staying within the confines of the family will hardly be aware of the fact that this is not the only way to do it. As Erikson puts it: "Ritualization is an aspect of everyday life which is more clearly seen in a different culture or class or even family than our own, where, in fact, ritualization is more often than not experienced simply as the only proper way to do things; and the question is only why doesn't everybody do it our way." (1977, p.80)

One of the things that all the children recognized as being different in their peers' families was the food, which is indeed quite an obvious difference and thus becomes associated with the parents' culture, especially since other people from a German background eat in a comparable fashion. However, there are possibly many other forms of culture specific ritualized behaviours which are not recognized by the children, because that would require a very intimate knowledge of other and different families. I am thinking of rituals governing the relationships between spouses and between parents and children, which are often only elevated to the level of consciousness if a special metacommunicative effort is made. [54] The present study does not unveil ritualized behaviour in the various families, although they were frequently probed "how did you do or achieve this". More often than not the answer was a puzzled look or a "I don't really know", and it appears that direct observation of interactions is the best way to investigate for example precisely how the children adopted their parents' work ethics, since a lot of ritualized behaviour happens at a subconcious level, and even very co-operative respondents cannot tell about it.

The foregoing discussion also clarifies why the parents are so resistant to changing their food habits. It is not only because for twenty-five years German cooking was the only way for them to eat, but also because in the ritual of eating in this fashion, a multitude of the values and beliefs they grew up with, and which are now part of their identity, are expressed. In eating this way they maintain essential aspects of themselves, rehearsing them every day. Other aspects, e.g. the language, have to change due to the circumstances of immigrating, and because of this it might be even more important to retain those everyday traditions at home which are not interfered with by society, in order to keep some constancy in one's self-understanding. As was pointed out before, this choice is probably not a conscious one; the reasons given by the families were simply that 'German food just tastes better'.

---

[54] cf. Watzlawick et. al. 1967, for a detailed discussion of this issue.

C. Re-Interpretation of the Studies Reviewed in Chapter II

The foregoing discussion of the findings of this study concentrated on an immanent interpretation of the same, and references to the studies reviewed in chapter II were only made if they were directly relevant, for example to Danziger's (1971) investigation on educational aspirations in the section on achievement orientation. Poetschke's (1978) research on reasons for immigration and on identity has been dealt with implicitly throughout this chapter, which proposes to look at the mind-set of families as a construct that encompasses both motivation and aspects of identification, and defines their interrelationship. It seems worthwhile to take a brief look at the other studies as well, to see how they can be re-interpreted in the light of the present research.

Like Poetschke's investigation, Hardt-Dhatt's study (1975) would have to be criticized on the conceptual level, as she works from the hypothesis that attitudes determine the degree of integration. From a systems perspective, both the immigrant's attitudes towards the Canadian environment as well as the degree of integration into it are seen as two interconnected parts of the same thing, identified as a mind-set in this study. This view proposes a correlation between attitudes and integration, and that is indeed what Hardt-Dhatt found, although she designed her study as a test of mean differences of attitude scores between an integrated and a non-integrated group.

Child's (1943a) three types of reactions of second generation Italian males, the rebel, in-group, and apathetic reaction, can be understood as either the men's expression of their family's mind-set regarding change, or as behaviour provoking changes of it. It is hard to judge how far any of the "reactions" are primarily counter-movements against the family, and in how much they are actions as part of and in agreement with the family, since different families have different mind-sets regarding cultural change. For example, a rebel reaction (identification with American norms) could be part of the whole family's inclination to change, and then would not be so rebellious at all. On the other hand, if the family adheres strongly to their traditional culture, it would be behaviour probably leading to a change of the family system in one way or another, i. e. it would lead to more acceptance of American norms by the family, or to family disintegration, or to a change of the young man towards more identification with Italian norms. The difficulty in defining what exactly a rebel reaction signifies, illustrates the importance of understanding an individual within the context of the family, something that Child did not explicitly focus on.

Ex (1966) described the individual and basic (i.e. culture specific) personality of an immigrant as important factors which influence a person's general disposition to adapt to a new milieu. Individual personality is a more encompassing construct than mind-set, and it is also embedded in a different epistemology and terminology; but essentially the study presented supports Ex's notion that an immigrant's adjustment is influenced by a disposition towards adaptation or change.

Connor's (1977) finding that second generation Japanese immigrants are "truly within two cultures" does not hold true for the persons interviewed in this study. It needs to be differentiated in terms of a "more or less", as some of the German immigrant children accepted several German values for themselves, whereas others showed only a very thin trace of their family's origin in terms of their values. Furthermore, even though the individuals accepted some of their parents' ideas, this does not necessarily put them "between" cultures, as many of them integrated their German values into a largely Canadian identity free of problems.

VI. Inferences and Conclusion: What was learned and how it can be useful

The investigation presented in this thesis consists of twelve case studies of German immigrant families in Alberta, and one should keep this in mind when evaluating the inferences and conclusions offered in this chapter. Case studies are very useful in gaining an understanding of interaction processes and in obtaining insights into how individuals perceive and construct their everyday world. This advantage is contrasted with the impossibility of generalizing the results statistically. However, if the findings are integrated with other research and theories, meaningful logical inferences can be drawn. In the previous chapters references were made to other studies, and before I list my conclusions I shall briefly sketch the framework within which they were arrived at:

- Only whole families in whom both parents are post-war German immigrants were interviewed.
- Physically, these German immigrants are hard to distinguish from native-born Canadians, and they did not settle in ethnic enclaves.
- The province of Alberta experienced a period of tremendous economic growth and social change during the time the interviewed children grew up.
- The focus of the investigation of acculturation processes rested on the activities of the families; an interplay of society and immigrants was presupposed but not explicitly analyzed.

A comparison of the children's development with the intentions and principles of childrearing described by their parents shows that in essential aspects – whatever these were – the children turned out the way their parents wanted them to be. In other words, the parents (or at least one of them) seem to have been quite successful in the socialisation of their children. To be sure, this process did not always occur smoothly or without pain, but in the end parents and children present a congruent picture of intentions and outcome. Looking at socialisation in general, this does not come as a complete surprise, as during the socialisation process we are taught to be good children, to please our parents and to win their approval. This holds true for immigrant children as well, and maybe even more so for the interviewed group, since its members grew up in very close-knit families. Put into the frame of a systems perspective, it becomes clear that (family) socialisation is a co-evolutionary process involving parents and children, which is based on patterns of relationships that are compatible as long as the system exists, which means that a certain agreement on goals and means can be expected.

Regarding the individual development of the immigrant children from a psychosocial perspective, it also became clear that they follow general patterns of development, with most of them having to solve one additional task: having to come to grips with "being different" themselves or having parents who are different. This perception of being different is independent of how others perceive and treat us, and similarly outsiders cannot do much to lessen the impact of the negative attributes of feeling different. For immigrant children, being different is a fact of life, and in having to deal with this while growing up, they often develop an awareness of and sensitivity to other people's situations, and can be understanding and tolerant of their differences.[55] I asked some of the respondents who are teachers now, whether there was anything their teachers could have done to help them overcome the negative feeling associated with being different, and the answer was "no", because special attention would have highlighted even more the fact that they were different. An attitude of acceptance and a sensitivity for an immigrant child's situation are aids which outsiders can provide in order not to make it worse, while the family is the pivotal point when it comes to the modification of the strength and direction of the feeling of being different.

In order to find a positive solution to the problem of being different, children have to be allowed to identify with their peer group and its culture. The parents, on the other hand, need to retain aspects of the culture they grew up with; in order to maintain salient aspects of their self-image they at least privately admit to their Germanness. If they present these important cultural aspects to their children as personal idiosyncrasies with which the latter have to put up at home but not outside, as every child has to abide with the peculiarities of parents, then it seems probable that the child will overcome the negative feelings associated with being different. Implicit in this view of the interactions within an immigrant family is the assertion that the parents cannot completely undo or deny their past, including their cultural background, without losing their personal identity; and that it is a highly unreasonable expectation to demand that they accept everything about the new culture. However, people can change some parts of their outlook on life and they can certainly add many different views to their own. The essential feature distinguishing the interviewed families was the degree of willingness to change. They differed as to how much they wanted changes to occur in their lives vs desiring to stabilize old behaviour patterns. The family's willingness to change is related to the young child's perception of how bad it is to be different, and insurmountable difficulties only seem to arise when the parents counteract all changes in their children as well as in themselves. This is to say, that although problems experienced by immigrant children are rooted in their family situation, this does not refer to nor is it explained by a specific cultural background, but rather by their family's mind-set regarding change. The latter varies within ethnic groups and does not necessarily distinguish them.

---

[55] cf. Schwartzman 1982, who points out that frequently families of artists are characterized by contradictory values, and that because a large number of contemporary American writers and poets were children of immigrants, were immigrants themselves, or lived in distinct ethnic communities apart from the mainstream of American culture, the cultural context was often a significant "difference that makes the difference" for the family, since value differences were highlighted rather than automatically internalized as is the case for those persons who are part of a relatively homogeneous cultural context.

The dynamics of acculturation affect a family from the inside and from the outside, the family evolves in the interactions between its members and in those with society. It has been shown that the parents affect the adaptation of their children, who in turn facilitate the cultural assimilation of their parents, and that through this the overall important mind-set of a family can be shifted, modifying their outlook toward stability to an inclination toward change, or vice versa. The interactions of the family with society have far less reciprocal effects, since the onus to change is on the family. Although, in the long run immigrants influence the directions which social change takes in a society – for example the parents in this study attribute the development of 'cultural life' in Alberta to the efforts of European immigrants –, this does not become apparent in the immediate day to day affairs an immigrant family conducts within its environment.

With the above qualifications regarding long term social change, the process of cultural change of an immigrant family explicated in this study basically follows a straight-line theory of acculturation, which postulates that immigrant groups will eventually, over a period of generations, be absorbed in the larger culture and general population. [56] However, differences were found in the speed with which the families blend into the new society; some families make major adaptive changes in the first generation while others do so in the second or later generations. The first vs second generation changes were related to the families' different mind-sets of looking for change vs looking for stability. An issue connected with the process of acculturation is the question whether it represents a challenge or stress for second generation adolescents or young adults. [57] Again, the findings of this study suggest that the perception of stress or challenge is related to the general outlook for change or stability of the young person's family of origin, with those persons experiencing more stress whose families' patterns of coping with the demands of cultural change become inadequate and lead to an escalation of adjustment difficulties. [58]

---

[56] (cf. Gans 1979)

An interesting finding of this study was the fact that all parents, even those who were eager to change their language and ways of interacting with other people, kept certain German traditions at home, and that they also transmitted certain important values to their children. In families where the German language and national culture as such were lost, family traditions persisted. The importance of these became clear when they were understood as ritualized behaviour, which is symbolic social communication aimed at expressing and perpetuating 'right attitudes', in this case the values and attitudes of the parents, which are partially culture specific. Conceiving the transmission of culture as non-language-bound ritualized behaviour of parents and children carried out in the intimate setting of the home, draws attention to the very specific patterned interactions within a family in order to explain further processes of culture change or retention. This idea is a direct continuation of the propositions arrived at by researchers of mother infant interaction, [59] which hold that the origin of symbolic functioning should be sought in those idiosyncratic but shared understandings which evolve during the child's earliest social encounters with familiar human beings who are themselves already steeped in human culture. Similarly, the *particular meaning of various forms of symbolic communication* evolves out of the interaction with the persons around the child, family members being amongst the most influential ones.

---

[57] cf. Thomae 1979

[58] Of course, many other factors will affect this perception as well, e. g. the sex of the person, position in the sibling order, societal conditions, and the relationship of the two cultures involved, but it seems that the significance of the family has been overlooked in research on this topic.

[59] cf. especially John and Elizabeth Newson's article (1975) on 'Intersubjectivity and the Transmission of Culture'.

The important function of family traditions also sheds some light on the subjective meaning of ethnicity expressed by the interviewed children. For some of them it did not have any significance, as they were hardly aware of being from an ethnic background, and for the majority ethnicity is a family affair and associated less with a culture or larger group of people and how Germans do things than with how things were done at home. These people generally regarded their ethnic background as positive, while for two others it still has a negative connotation. Julius, especially, was made the target of ridicule in connection with his German background, and for him ethnicity is synonymous with being stereotyped as an outsider. He was the only person of the interviewed group who directly encountered and suffered from prejudice on the grounds of ethnic origin. Some children never experienced any discrimination, while others – or their siblings – experienced some prejudicial remarks, but for them this did not become a problem. This shows that experiences of prejudice cannot easily be explained on the grounds of ethnicity; and ethnicity is also a meaningless and thus useless category when it comes to understanding people in their everyday world, as coming from a particular ethnic background means many different things of varying importance to different people.

It is my opinion that any further research on immigrants and their offspring should stay away from "ethnicity" and similar concepts, and focus rather on processes of human interaction to find explanations for behaviour, attitudes and values, and to understand the interrelationships of these. During the course of this investigation it became very obvious to me that the family situation is the single most important aspect in understanding the development and worldview (social reality) of a person. This study only scratches the surface as far as an analysis of the system of relationships and interactions within the families is concerned, but it clearly indicates that a deeper understanding can be obtained through direct observation of family interactions, especially in those contexts marked by ritualized behaviour, e. g. meal times. Research into the transmission of culture within a family, which goes beyond mother-infant interaction and observes and analyzes processes occurring during childhood and adolescence, promises to be fascinating and enlightening, not only as far as the upbringing of immigrant children is concerned, but also in terms of human development in general. We can obtain a fairly good idea of *what* was transmitted from parents to children by comparing their responses on questionnaires (as is frequently done in research on ethnicity), but we do not know very much about *how* this happens, neither in our own culture nor in those from which most immigrants come. The problem with this type of research lies not only in its very time consuming nature or in gaining entrance into families to observe the processes, but also in the researcher's mental boundaries established through biographical context. If we follow Bateson (1979) and assume that knowledge or awareness arises out of a perception of differences, it becomes clear what an observation of more or less familiar ritualized behaviour requires: one must free oneself intellectually and emotionally of the notion that anything which goes on is normal and thus insignificant. It is much easier to perceive differences within a foreign culture, but making sense of them also necessitates a considerable understanding of this culture.

The presented investigation of the life-experiences of German immigrant children was an exploratory study which brought forth the above described theoretical points of view. It also offers a number of implications which have a practical value for those persons who deal with immigrant children and their parents in face to face contact, for example teachers and counsellors. First of all, it became obvious that it is futile to think in broad categories like ethnic background when regarding individuals in their actual life world. The assessment of a child's problem requires an understanding of the specific family situation in order to devise adequate solutions or remedies. The interviews of this study showed that although the families resembled each other in terms of demographic facts as well as in values regarding education, they differed in the ways they related to their social environment; some were eager to become Canadian, whereas others stressed retention of German customs. For example, just in establishing contact with the parents, one mother was offended by being spoken to in German since she considered this an indication of inferiority, whereas another mother appreciated it as a helpful gesture. Their reactions to a given treatment of their children would probably be equally different. It certainly helps to have a general knowledge of the values and customs of the culture of the people one deals with, but it is of no use applying this knowledge without previously investigating how much a family still identifies with them. Otherwise it becomes stereotyping, which has not been proven to be a helpful method of human interaction.

The case descriptions presented here provide an illustration of the evolution of immigrant families in general and of those of German background in particular, and they are a source for the understanding of the life world of immigrants as well as for generating hypotheses about potential factors that make up the difficulties of a given immigrant child. However, these hypotheses as well as others obtained from literature have to be examined in each case before they are used as a basis for practice, and interventions have to be tailored for the specific family.

The most important issue that came up in the interviews was the need for school aged children to identify with their peers. When working with the family, this need has to be counterbalanced with the parents' need to maintain certain aspects of their culture, and strategies have to be devised which can accommodate both parents and children. In terms of assigning an immigrant child to a particular programme at school, especially remedial language instruction, a very careful assessment of the child's situation, including home environment, has to be undertaken, weighing the potential benefits against the effects of increasing the child's perception of being different in a negative sense. A special language instruction would not have been warranted for any of the interviewed children, although some of them did not speak a word of English when entering school. They all learned it in due time without suffering any lasting negative effects. Rather, it seems that perceptive teachers, who helped them unobtrusively and indirectly during regular classes, had a very beneficial effect on some of the children.

The preceding assertions are relevant for teacher education, in that they imply that a good teacher not only knows how to teach subject matter, but is also capable of modifying instruction to tailor it to the special situation of every child. As far as immigrant children are concerned, this requires that education students become aware of the fact that the way things were done in their family are not the only way of doing them. Students have to know how other cultures and other people of their own culture conduct their daily affairs within the family and what significance is attributed to the different customs, without falling into the trap of stereotyping. Furthermore, future teachers have to realize that different habits are just that, neither better nor worse, but equally valid in their contexts; and that in order to modify behaviour – which is what teaching and learning is all about – it is best to work with the intellectual and social conditions presented by a child instead of ignoring or going against them. An intellectual knowledge of different cultural (or social) groups can be aquired through the reading of novels or studies like this one, but an experiential awareness seems even more desirable, e. g. living with a different family for some time, as this would hopefully include a questioning of one's own family traditions, which – with proper guidance – will lead to a deeper understanding of other people's customs and values, and that in turn should enable a teacher to relate effectively to children from a different background.

Working with immigrants, and with people in general, presents a task for researchers and practitioners alike, a challenge that was put into words by Johann Wolfgang von Goethe a long time ago, but has not lost any of its validity:

> *Was ist das Schwerste von allem? Was Dir das Leichteste dunkt: Mit den Augen zu sehen, was vor den Augen Dir liegt.*

Epilogue: Reflections on the Research Process

To a great extent this thesis has been a documentation of the research process, of the procedures and of the development of conceptual understanding. An important part of this process is the investigator herself, as the evolution of the study consisted of an interplay between the researcher and the data; i. e. the researcher's theoretical position influenced what kind of information was collected in which fashion, and then the data changed her perspective, so that a different look was taken at the information etc. This epilogue concentrates on this aspect of the study and puts the investigation into a different context by regarding the researcher as a person embedded in a particular social and cultural context. It also provides a few general comments on research and on possible improvements to this study.[60]

Shotter(1978) points out that the interpretation of the meaning of people's actions is a hermeneutical approach which involves a sense of knowing from the "inside", and that an understanding from within a frame of reference, a tradition, or a culture, are required. On the other hand, the investigator has to detach herself from her preconceptions and convictions and be open to the new and possibly antagonistic information arising from the research. She has to be willing to educate herself in the process. The results of a hermeneutical inquiry are not "truths", but plausible conclusions appropriate to the context from which they were derived.

To illuminate what kind of inside understanding I brought to the investigation, a few biographical notes are necessary. I was born in 1953 and raised in Hamburg, FRG. My father is also from that city; he caught the tail end of the war as a soldier and spent several years as a British prisoner of war. My mother grew up in Pomerania; her family fled from their home ahead of the Soviet army in the winter of 1945. Thus, as far as the historical context of my family is concerned, I have a lot in common with the persons I interviewed, whereas our societal contexts are different: a big industrial port city in Germany vs a boomtown on the Canadian Prairies.

I graduated from the University of Hamburg with a *Diplom* in psychology, which is the equivalent of a Masters degree. During my studies there heavy emphasis was placed upon experimental psychology and psychodiagnostics. This research direction found its expression in my Masters thesis, which was a statistical piece of work; it consisted of the construction of a language test which was then used to compare different groups of students. Besides this predominant official orientation of the department, a different philosophy prevailed amongst the students, dialectical materialism. Many of us, including myself, used it as a basis from which to criticize the often context-free, unidimensional, and non-reciprocal lines of argumentation found in experimental psychological studies. But although I developed a critical eye for the shortcomings of these studies, I was unable to translate this into a positive approach towards a different methodology.

---

[60] The decision to write this epilogue resulted from a series of lectures given by Dr. Dieter Misgeld at the University of Alberta in the spring of 1982, and the content of the following sections is influenced by his ideas.

Another noteworthy aspect of my studies in Hamburg was my training in clinical psychology, which included one and a half years of client centred therapy and behaviour therapy plus a one year practicum in marital counselling. It was during that time that I first read some of the works by Paul Watzlawick and the Palo Alto group on brief therapy, which is based on a systems view of the patient(s) as part of a social context. I was intrigued by that idea, but regarded it mainly as a neat way to do therapy, and did not make the connection from that context to a new epistemology for human interaction in general.

This brief history indicates that by the time I arrived in Canada, in 1978, to do research on German immigrants, I was acquainted with systems thoughts, and I also believed that human interactions are of a reciprocal or dialectical nature. However, as far as research was concerned, I still regarded the "scientific" paradigm as the only legitimate approach, and I was quite suspicious of the validity of non-standardized methods for scientific inquiry. The change of this view is outlined in the main part of the thesis, I might just add that it took two years and a lot of encouragement from my supervisor before I dared to do something different.

How did my personal and academic history influence the interviews? The most important aspect was that I am German. For the parents this meant that they could speak to me in German, and that they did not have to be afraid that I was acting as an arm of a Canadian institution trying to snoop around and see how the immigrants were doing. Thus a basis of trust was established immediately without my doing much about it. The importance of my national origin for the children became evident early during the interviews, when it turned out that with my parents I had experienced many of the same things they reported, and that was even more true for the women than the men. My understanding of their situation spared them far reaching explanations about German customs in general and allowed us to talk about specifics. I regard this as a clear advantage which far outweighs my partial ignorance of the Canadian school context, since my respondents gladly provided me with their perceptions about the more public knowledge about what Canadian children do at school. It was not too difficult to maintain an openness (or open-mindedness) during the interviews and to detach myself from my theoretical pre-suppositions, as the latter were in a state of instability anyway. Furthermore, I was simply overwhelmed with the information the families gave me, and could not categorize it at the time. During the interviews I usually occupied a (quite comfortable) one-down relational position with respect to the parents; they treated me as a young German student who was going to find out about life in Canada, whereas the children treated me as equal. The parents as well as their children were very helpful in answering my questions, so that I could write my 'paper'. I think that both my personal attributes as well as my willingness to be impressed had some influence on what was said during the interviews, and that someone else might have obtained different answers even had the same questions been asked.

The next step of the investigation was the data-reduction, which meant that I had to read the interview transcripts over and over in order to condense them into the case descriptions. It was at this time that the data had their real impact on my thinking; the reports of the families changed my focus away from the individual, the 'child', towards a family perspective. My original intention in interviewing the parents had been to verify some of their children's perceptions, and to obtain information about early experiences of their children, which the latter might not remember, and to question them as one 'agent of socialisation'. I did not think that the family context was much more important than the school context or the peer environment, and the reason why I did not interview the ex-teachers or childhood friends of my subjects was because that was rather impracticable. However, when I saw the similarities among the children's descriptions and parents' reports on how they were raised, I could not help but conclude that the family context was the more important part of a person's development, and that aspects like school take on comparatively marginal significance. My decision to adopt a systems perspective for the interpretation, and not, for example, a Freudian model, is connected with my history of thought on human interactions and my recent involvement with a group of psychologists who practice a form of psychotherapy based on a systems epistemology.

As far as criticism of the study is concerned, I grant that a systems interpretation is only one of many possible ways to look at the data. However, it seems to be a very plausible one, providing explanations appropriate to the context. The systems perspective has been very helpful in discovering the patterns in the families and has allowed me to interpret the findings in a consistent fashion.

With the wisdom of hindsight I suggest a few methodological improvements for studies that address a similar topic. It would be very valuable to interview all, or at least several, children in a family, to get a better picture of the predominant patterns of the relationships among the family members. That would also provide some clues as to what the general differences are between the development of immigrant boys and girls, or between older and younger siblings; or whether the differences are primarily between families. In addition, a multimethod approach might help to clarify further the interactional patterns within a family. For example, as I pointed out in chapter VI, it would be fascinating to observe a family in their daily life and see what exactly they are doing. In his preface to 'La Vida', Oscar Lewis outlines his approach for a well-rounded family study, which is very comprehensive and results in excellent descriptions. However, it also takes several years and many collaborating researchers to complete.

Looking at this study as part of larger, societal trends, two observations occurred to me, which made it appear in quite a different light. Within the Canadian context, it is possible that this study is only the first of many publications addressing the experiences of post-war immigrant children. I base this assumption on the reactions to my study shown by non-German second generation Canadians, who confirmed many of the descriptions given by my subjects, especially in regard to feeling different. They also expressed satisfaction that someone is acknowledging their different experiences in a serious way, mentioning that they usually do not talk about them to other people, because, over the years, they have encountered too much misunderstanding of their situation. It seems that I brought a double advantage to the study. Not only did I share the cultural background of the people I interviewed, but I was also far enough detached from their experiences to assume an outsider's viewpoint. Immigrant children themselves certainly have a better inside understanding of their situation than I do, but it seems that many of them are still too emotionally involved to externalize and somehow step outside their experiences.

Within the German context, at least part of this study fits in with a noticeable trend of the post-war generation's attempt to come to grips with their parents' history. Recently, a vast amount of information about the Third Reich has been produced, in written and audio-visual form. Although I had no intention of doing anything like that when I commenced my research, in retrospect I know that the "Historical Overview: Germany" was one of the most important parts of the thesis for me to write. My parents never talked about their youth, and neither did my friends' parents, it was an unspoken taboo; supported by the - maybe not so strange -fact, that in the history lessons at school we never succeeded in really dealing with the Nazi period, apart from learning a few facts and figures, since we unavoidably ran out of time at the end of the school year. My research on this period can be regarded as part of my generation's quest for information that was withheld from us.

It seems appropriate to close this epilogue with a summary of what I have gained from the research process. Apart from learning about Germany and Alberta, I also developed a new kind of tolerance for other people, expressed in a tendency not to categorize persons according to generalized attributes, but to judge an individual within her specific context. In particular I am referring to my new respect for religious persons, which is a direct result of my effort to be open-minded during the investigation, which I made in the name of science, as my method required. Furthermore I have learned that there are very important differences among cultural and family traditions, which have to be taken into account in any kind of 'ethnic' research.

I have also become somewhat cynical about questionnaire type social science research on attitudes and values. It is not that I do not regard the information obtained as valuable, what bothers me is the way it is used. Often, conflicting results are attributed to some kind of "error", instead of trying to obtain explanations from the people who were questioned. One particular example sticks in my mind, which also has some reference to this study. At a conference I listened to someone who had investigated the integration of German immigrants in Alberta and related that to the number of ethnic organisations. The results, a high degree of integration vs a proliferation of German ethnic clubs, puzzled the researcher, whereas it made perfect sense to me, as I had talked to people like the ones in that study. The important, overlooked variable in this context was the availability of considerable amounts of Government money for ethnic organisations. At least some of "my" families gladly took this money so that they could have some fun, and the founding of a "German" organisation was more a means to an end than a sign of non-integration.

What all this means, is that my study has convinced me that a prerequisite for any kind of research dealing with human beings is to talk to the people, before imposing categories on their actions. With the acceptance of such a method as a legitimate way of doing research, I have overcome my disillusionment with psychology and social science in general, which had consumed me for several years before I embarked on this study. My faith in science as a worthwhile enterprise has been restored, and I would like to close with one of my favourite quotes, which has guided my interest for many years, and which I now see in a different light, as I now know that there is more than one way to 'reveal essences', and that possibly more than one reality exists.

> If the form of manifestation and the essences of things coincided directly, every science would be superflous. It is the task of science to reveal the essence of the internal, deep, and underlying process behind the multitude of phenomena, outward aspects and features of reality. (Karl Marx)

Acquainting myself with the reality of German immigrant families in Alberta and finding out what lies behind the phenomenon of an 'immigrant child' has been a rewarding venture for me.

Bibliography

Alberta Bureau of Statistics. *An Historical Profile of the Alberta Family*. Edmonton: Alberta Bureau of Statistics 1981

Allen, R. "The Untroublesome Canadians." *McLean's*. 1964, 77 (5), 19-21,50,52-53

Allport, G.W. *The Use of Personal Documents In Psychological Science* . New York: Social Science Research Council 1942

Allport, G.W. *The Nature of Prejudice*. Cambridge, Mass.: Addison-Wesley 1954

Bandura, A. *Social Learning Theory*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall 1977

Barar-Stein, T. *You eat what you are*. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Ltd. 1979

Bates,E. et al " From Gesture to the First Word: on Cognitive and Social Prerequisites" in: Lewis, M. & Rosenblum,L.A. (ed) *Interaction, Conversation and the Development of Language*. New York:John Wiley and Sons 1977

Bateson, G. *Steps to an Ecology of Mind*. Toronto: Ballentine Books 1972

Bateson, G. *Mind and Nature: A Necessary Unity*. New York: E. P. Dutton 1979

Blyth,J.A. *The Canadian Social Inheritance*. Toronto:The Copp Clark Publishing Company 1972

Bruner,J. "From Communication to the First Word - A Psychological Perspective" *Cognition*. 1974, 3 (3), 255-287

Buckley, W. *Modern Systems Research for the Behavioral Sciences*. Chicago: Aldine Pub. Comp. 1968

Burr, W. R. et al (eds) *Contemporary Theories About the Family* New York: The Free Press 1979

Caldorola, C. "The Social Credit in Alberta, 1935-1971", in: Caldorola, C. (ed) *Society and Politics in Alberta*. Toronto: Methuen 1979

Canada. Dept. of Citizenship and Immigration. *Citizenship, Immigration, and Ethnic Groups in Canada: A Bibliography of Reseach, 1920-1958*. Ottawa: Queen's Printer 1960

Canada. Dept. of Citizenship and Immigration. *Citizenship, Immigration, and Ethnic Groups in Canada: A Bibliography of Research, 1959-1961*. Ottawa: Queen's

Printer 1962

The Canadian Family Tree. Ottawa: Queen's Printer 1967

Card, B.Y. *The Canadian Prairie Provinces from 1870 to 1950*. Vancouver: J. M. Dent & Sons 1960

Card, B. Y. *Trends and Change in Canadian Society*. Toronto: Macmillan of Canada 1968

Cardinal, C.H. "University Research on German-Canadians: First Supplement" *Canadian Ethnic Studies*. 1970, 2 (1), 45-46

Cardinal,C.H. & Malycky, A. "University Research on German-Canadians: A Preliminary Check-List of Dissertations and Theses" *Canadian Ethnic Studies*. 1969, 1 (1), 7-12

Center for Applied Linguistics. *Bilingual Education: Current Perspectives. Vol.1 to 5.* Arlington, Va: Center for Applied Linguistics 1977

Child, I.L. *Italian or American? The Second Generation in Conflict*. New Haven: Yale University Press 1943(a)

Child, I.L. "The Use of Interview Data", *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*. 1943(b), 38, 305-318

Comeau,L.R. & Driedger, R.L."Ethnic Opening and Closing in an Open System: A Canadian Example" *Social Forces*. 1978,57 (2),600-620

Connor, J.W. *Tradition and Change in Three Generations of Japanese Americans.* Chicago: Nelson-Hall 1977

Cummins, J. "Educational Implications of Mother Tongue Maintenance in Minority-Language Groups." *The Canadian Modern Language Review*. 1978(a), 34, 395-416

Cummins,J. "The Cognitive Development of Children in Immersion Programs." *The Canadian Modern Language Review*. 1978(b),34,855-883

Dallmeyer, F. & McCarthy, T. A. *Understanding and Social Inquiry*. Notre Dame,Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press 1977

Danziger,K. *The Socialisation of Immigrant Children*. Institute for Behavioural Research, York University 1971

Danziger,K. "Socialisation of Italian Immigrant Girls in Canada." *International Journal of Psychology*. 1974, 9, 129-137

Dell, P. "Beyond Homeostasis: Toward a Concept of Coherence", *Family Process.* 1982, 21, 21-41

Denzin, N.K. *The Research Act: A Theoretical Introduction to Sociological Methods.* Chicago: Aldine 1970

Deutscher, I. *Reportagen aus Nachkriegsdeutschland.* Hamburg: Junius Verlag 1980

de Zayas, A. M. *Nemesis at Potsdam. The Anglo-Americans and the Expulsion of the Germans. Background, Execution, Consequences.* London: Routledge & Kegan Paul 1977

Dietrich, F. *Internationale Bibliographie der Zeitschriften Literatur, Abt. A: Bibliographie der Deutschen Zeitschriften Literatur.* Osnabruck: F. Dietrich 1950-1960

Driedger,L. "Ethnic Self-Identity: A Comparison of Ingroup Evaluations." *Sociometry.* 1976, 39 (2), 131-141

Eisenstadt, S.N. *The Absorption of Immigrants.* London: Routledge and Keagan Paul Ltd. 1954

Elkin, F. *The Family in Canada.* Ottawa: The Vanier Institute of the Family, 1964

Epstein, A.L. *Ethos and Identity.* Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company 1978

Erikson, E. H. *Childhood and Society.* New York: W. W. Norton 1950

Erikson, E.H.*Identity: Youth and Crisis.* New York: W. W. Norton 1968

Erikson, E. H. *Toys and Reasons: Stages in the Ritualisation of Experience.* New York: W. W. Norton 1977

Ex,J. *Adjusment After Migration.* The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff 1966

Ferreira, A. J. "Family Myth and Homeostasis": *Archives of General Psychiatry.* 1963, 9, 457-463

Filstead, W. J. (ed) *Qualitative Methodology: Firsthand Involvement with the Social World.* Chicago: Markham Pub. Comp. 1978

Focke, H. & Reimer, U. *Alltag unterm Hakenkreuz. Wie die Nazis das Leben der Deutschen veraenderten.* Hamburg: Rowohlt Taschenbuch Verlag 1979

Gans, H.J. "Symbolic Identity: The Future of Ethnic Groups in America." *Ethnic and Racial Studies.* 1979, 2, 1-28

Gardner,R.C. & Lambert,W.E. *Attitudes and Motivation in Second Language Learning.* Rowley,Mass: Newbury House Publ. 1972

Giles,H., Taylor,D.M. & Bourhis, R.Y."Dimensions of Welsh Identity". *European Journal of Social Psychology.* 1977, 7 (2), 165-174

Ginsberg, A.M. & Gioielli, M.M.P. "A Comparative Study of Acculturation and Adaptaton of Descendants of Japanese-Born in Brazil Comapared with Japanese and Brazilians". *Human Development.* 1979, 22, 340-357

Giorgi, A. "An Application of Phenomenological Method in Psychology." in Giorgi, A., Fisher, C. T. & Murray, E.L. (ed). *Dusquesne Studies in Phenomenological Psychology, Vol. II.* Pittsburgh: Dusquesne University Press 1975

Goldlust,H & Richmond,A. "A Multivariate Model of Immigrant Adaptation" *International Migration Review.* 1974, 8, 193-225

Gordon,M. "Toward a General Theory of Racial and Ethnic Relations", in: Glazer,N. & Moynihan,P. *Ethnicity.* Cambridge,Mass: Harvard University Press 1975

Greenfield, T. Barr "Bilingualism, Multiculturalism and the Crisis of Purpose in Canadian Culture" in: Swain,M. (ed) *Bilingualism in Canadian Education: Issues and Research.* Edmonton: Western Industrial Research Centre 1976

Hardt-Dhatt,K. *Etude Socio-Linguistique sur l'Integration de l'Immigrant Allemand au Milieu Quebecois.* Quebec: Centre International de Recherches Sur le Bilinguisme 1976

Healy, G.W. & DeBlassie,R.R. "A Comparison of Negro-, Anglo-, and Spanish-American Adolescents' Self-Concepts" *Adolescence.* 1974, 9,33, 15-24

Hoffman, L. *Foundations of Family Therapy: A Conceptual Framework for Systems Change.* New York: Basic Books 1981

Holborn, H. *Deutsche Geschichte in der Neuzeit, Bd. III* Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag 1981

Hunter, D.E. & Whitten, P. (ed) *Encyclopedia of Anthropology.* New York: Harper and Row 1976

Huxley,J.S. "Cultural Process and Evolution" in: Roe,A. & Simpson,G.G. (ed). *Behavior and Evolution.* New Haven: Yale University Press 1958

Isajiw,W.W. "Definitions of Ethnicity". *Ethnicity.* 1974, 1, 11-124

Ishwaran, K. (ed) *The Canadian Family. A Book of Readings.* Toronto: Holt, Reinhart and Winston 1971

Kantor, D. & Lehr, W. *Inside the Family: Toward a Theory of Family Process.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Pub. 1975

Karr,C. & Wesley,F. "Comparison of German and U.S. Child-Rearing Practices". *Child Development.* 1966, 37, 715-723

Kelly,G.S. *The Psychology of Personal Constructs.* . New York 1955

Kim, J. K. "Explaining Acculturation in a Communications Framework: An Empirical Test." *Communication Monographs.* 1980, 47, 155-179

Krotki,J.E. *Local Histories of Alberta: An Annotated Bibliography.* Edmonton: Division of East European Studies, The University of Alberta 1980

Kunz,P. "Immigrants and Socialisation: A New Look." *Sociological Review.* 1968,16, 363-375

Lambert, W.E. *Language, Psychology, and Culture.* Stanford: Stanford University Press 1972

LaRossa, R., Bennett, L.A., & Gelles, R.J. "Ethical Dilemmas in Qualitative Family Research." *Journal of Marriage and the Family.* 1981, 41, 303-313

Larson, L. *The Family in Alberta.* Edmonton: Human Resources Council of Alberta Monograph 1971

Lawrie, R. "Personality". *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research.* 1974,34 (3), 307-330

Lewis, O. *La Vida.* Toronto: Random House Publ. 1965

Macpherson, C.B. *Democracy in Alberta.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press 1953

Mann, W. E. *Sect, Cult, and Church in Alberta.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press 1955

Mann, W. E. *Canada: A Sociological Profile.* Toronto: The Copp Clark Publishing Company 1968

Masuda,M., Matsumo,G.H. & Meredith, G.M. "Ethnic Identity in Three Generations of Japanese Americans." *Journal of Social Psychology.* 1970, 81 (2), 199-207

McGuire,W.J. et al "Salience of ethnicity in the spontaneous self-concept as a function of one's ethnic distinctiveness in the social environment." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology.* 1978, 36 (5), 51-520

McGuire,W.J. "The Yin and Yang of Progress in Social Psychology." *Journal of*

Personality and Social Psychology. 1973, 26, 446-456

McKay, J. & Lewins, F. "Ethnicity and the Ethnic Group: a Conceptual Analysis and Reformulation." *Ethnic and Racial Studies*. 1978, 1, 412-427

McLaughlin, B. *Second Language Acquisition in Childhood*. Hillsdale, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum 1978

McVey, W. W. *Population Trends in Alberta: Historical Review and Assessment for the Future*. Edmonton: Govt. of Alberta 1977

Mead, G.H. *Mind, Self and Society*. Chicago: 1934

Mischel, W. "Toward a Cognitive Learning Reconceptualisation of Personality." *Psychological Review*. 1973, 80, 252-283

Morrison, J. (ed) *The Canadian Conference on the Family*. Ottawa: The Vanier Institute of the Family, 1965

Morse, S.J. "Being a Canadian: Aspects of National Identity among a Sample of University Students in Saskatchewan." *Canadian Journal of Behavioural Sciences* . 1977, 9(3), 265-273

Newman, B. & Newman, P. *Development Through Life: a Psychosocial Approach*. Homewood, Ill: The Dorsey Press 1979

Newson, J. & Newson, E. "Intersubjectivity and the Transmission of Culture. *Bulletin of the British Psychological Association*. 1975, 28, 437-446

Normann, K. von *Tagebuch aus Pommern 1945/46*. Munchen: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag 1980 (4th edition)

O'Bryan, K.G., Reitz, J.G. & Kuplowska, O.M. *Non-Official Languages. A Study in Multiculturalism*. Canada. Minister Responsible for Multicultralism 1976

Palmer, H. *Land of the Second Chance. A History of Ethnic Groups in Southern Alberta*. Lethbridge:Lethbridge Herald 1972

Palmer, H. "Canadian Immigration and Ethnic History in the 1970's and 1980's." *International Migration Review*. 1981, 15, 471-501

Payne, S. L. *The Art of Asking Questions*. Princton, N.J: Princeton University Press 1951

Peal, E. & Lambert, W.E. "The Relationship of Bilingualism to Intelligence". *Psychological Monographs*. 1962, 76, 1-23

Pearce, J. K. "Ethnicity and Family Therapy: An Introduction". in: Pearce, J. K. & Friedman, L.

J. (ed) *Family Therapy. Combining Psychodynamic and Family Systems Approach.* New York: Grune & Stratton 1980

Philips, D. *Knowledge From What? Theories and Methods in Social Research.* Chicago: Rand McNally 1971

Pierce, C.M. & Kaufman, S. "Generation and Ethnic Identity: A Typological Analysis." *International Journal of Aging and Human Development.* 1978-79, 9 (1), 19-29

Poetschke,T.R. *Reasons for Immigration and Ethnic Identity.* unpublished Master's Thesis, Dept. of Sociology, University of Alberta 1978

Porter, J. "Ethnic Pluralism in Canada". in: Glazer, N. & Moynihan, P. *Ethnicity* . Cambridge,Mass: Harvard University Press 1975

Porter,J. *The Vertical Mosaic.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press 1965

Powdermaker, H. *Stranger and Friend: The Way of an Anthropologist.* New York: W. W. Norton 1966

Rappoport, L. *Personality Development. The Chronology of Experience.* Glenview, Ill: Scott, Foresman & Co. 1972

Riegel, K. *Foundations of Dialectical Psychology.* San Francisco: Academic Press 1979

Riegel, K. "The Dialectics of Human Development." *American Psychologist.* 1976, 31, 689-700

Roche,M. *Phenomenology, Language and the Social Sciences.* London: Routledge & Kegan Paul 1975

Rodgers, R. *Family Interaction and Transaction: the Developmental Approach.* Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall 1973

Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism *The Cultural Contributions of the Other Ethnic Groups.* Ottawa: Queen's Printer 1970

Schaff, A. *Language and Cognition.* Toronto: McGraw Hill 1973

Schaffer, H.R. *Studies in Mother-Infant Interaction.* London: Academic Press 1977

Schelsky, H. *Wandlungen der deutschen Familie in der Gegenwart.* Stuttgart: Ferdinand Enke Verlag 1954

Schelsky, H. *Die Skeptische Generation.* Frankfurt/Main: Ulstein 1975 (first ed. 1957)

Schmidt, W.H.O. *Child Development*. New York: Harper & Row, 1973

Schutz, A. "The Homecomer" in: Schutz, A. *Collected Papers II, Studies in Social Theory*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff 1971

Schwartzman, J. "Creativity, Pathology, and Family Structure: A Cybernetic Metaphor." *Family Process*, 1982, 21(1), 113-127

Shirer, W.L. *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich. A History of Nazi Germany*. Greenwich, Conn.: Fawcett Crest 1959

Shotter, J. "The Cultural Context of Communication Studies." in: Lock, A. (ed) *Action, Gesture, and Symbol: The Emergence of Language*. New York: Academic Press 1978

Skutnabb-Kangas, T. & Toukomaa, P. "Semilingualism and Middle-ClassBias." *Working Papers on Bilingualism*, 1979, 19, 181-196

Sotomayor,M. "Language, Culture, and Ethnicity in Developing Self-Concept". *Social Casework*. 1977, 58 (4), 195-203

Stake, R.E. "The Case Study Method in Social Inquiry." *Educational Researcher* 1978, 7, 5-8

Stierlin, H. *Delegation und Familie*. Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp 1978

Stierlin, H. "The Parents' Nazi Past and the Dialogue Between the Generations." *Family Process*, 1981, 20 (4), 379-390

Tambiah, S. J. *A Performative Approach to Ritual. Radcliffe-Brown Lecture 1979*. London: British Academy 1981

Therstone, S. *The Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press 1980

Thomae, H. "Personality Development in Two Cultures" *Human Development*. 1979, 22, 296-319

Toman, W. *Family Constellation*. New York: Springer Pub. Co. 1976

Vanier Institute of the Family *An Inventory of Family Research and Studies in Canada (1963 - 1967)* Ottawa: The Vanier Istitute of the Family 1967

Wakil, S.P. (ed) *Marriage, Family and Society. Canadian Perspectives*. Toronto: Butterworth & Co. 1975

Watzlawick, P. et al *Pragmatics of Human Communication*. New York: W. W. Norton

1967

Wax, R. *Doing Fieldwork.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1974

Williams, L.A. *Black Women and Self-Image: A Phenomenological-Existential Case History Approach.* unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, The California School of Proffesional Psychology, 1976

Zavalloni, M. "Social Identity: Perspectives and Prospects." *Social Science Information.* 1973, 12 (3), 65-91

Zavalloni, M. "Social Identity and the Recoding of Reality: Its Relevance for Cross-Cultural Psychology." *International Journal of Psychology.* 1975, 10 (3), 197-217

Zavalloni, M. "Cognitive Processes and Social Identity Through Focused Introspection." *European Journal of Social Psychology.* 1971, 1 (2), 235-260

Appendix

Detailed Outline of Conversation Topics

Child Interview

- age
- place of birth
- number of siblings
- sex
- education
- occupation
- marital status; number of children
- religion
- description of self (Who are you?)
- description of her/his life
- most important events during life
- positive and negative experiences
- the rules in the family
- what did you do together, what not
- who made the decisions at home
- did you discuss school (-problems) at home
- could you bring friends home
- parents' influence on choice of friends
- what did your parents insist on that you do, e.g. housework, home-work etc.
- how close is your family
- how do you show affection and emotions in your family
- how were you punished
- how often do you see your parents now
- what do feel about your siblings, how important are they for you
- when did you start earning money
- who were your friends
- what did you do with them
- how did you get along with your classmates, your teachers

- were they different from you, how
- how did you do in school
- how important was school for you
- what did you like most about school, what least
- what role did you play in extra-curricular activities at school
- job-history
- what recreational activities did you participate in, with whom
- what did you like about them, what not
- major conflicts with parents, peers, teachers and other people in authority
- did you experience any prejudice
- what role did nationality problems play in your life
- why did people like you, why did they dislike you
- what does "German culture" mean for you
- what does "Canadian Culture" mean for you
- do you identify with parts of them; e.g. food, holidays, relating to other people, fine arts, music, liteature
- did you ever experience any conflict between these two cultures for yourself, e.g. in relationship to other people
- what impact did both cultures have on your life, on what you are today
- how do you integrate them for yourself
- how fluent are you in German
- did you attend Saturday school, did you like it
- what is your opinion now on this matter
- which language did you speak mostly at home
- would fluency in German have helped you with any conflicts
- what is your opinion about bilingualism
- how does this relate to your own experience
- would you like your children to be able to speak German
- will you send them to a night school or a bilingual school, why or why not
- how would you identify yourself in terms of nationality, ethnicity; why
- opinion about present day Germany and Canada
- what are you considered as by other Canadians
- what is the status of Germans in Alberta

- are you aware of any ethnic groupings, symbols, or relationships
- have you visited Germany
- what was your impression, what impact did it have on you
- do you have contacts to relatives there
- have you spoken to Germans visiting Canada; how did it affect you
- do you intend to live in Canada
- if not, where would you like to go; why
- what are your goals in life
- how much do you rely on your family, how much do they rely on you
- how much respect do you pay authorities
- how obedient should children be
- what would be the most important aspects in raising your children
- how important is a good education; how much would you sacrifice for it
- what occupation do you aspire to
- what role does religion play in your life
- what are (were) the most important aspects in the choice of your spouse/friend

Parent Interview

- age
- place of birth
- number of siblings
- date and place of marriage
- education
- occupation
- where did you grow up
- what was your family like
- experiences before the war
- experiences during the war
- experiences between the war and emigration
- reasons for immigration
- why did you leave

- why did you come to Canada, Alberta
- what did you know about Alberta/Canada before you came
- first impressions of the land itself, the people, the customs
- what did you feel most deprived of
- what was the most difficult thing to get used to
- how well did you speak English
- what did people think of Germans
- did you experience any prejudice
- did you find a job adequate to your qualifications
- how important was that for you
- did your ambitions change after arrival
- how did you raise your children
- was it any different from the way you were brought up
- how did it differ from the way Canadian parents handled their children
- how important was obedience
- what were the differences between Canadian and German children's behaviour
- what were you most strict about
- did you discuss school at home
- did you discuss your children's friends at home
- how did you discipline your children
- what kind of problems did you have with your children
- what problems did your children have outside of the home
- did they experience prejudice
- how did you handle the situation
- did you see a future for your children in Canada
- how far did you want them to go in school
- what kind of job would you have liked them to take
- how do you identify yourself in terms of nationality, why
- what do you think about Germany (Canada) today
- do you feel at home here now
- what are you considered as by other Canadians
- do you belong to any ethnic groups or clubs, why or why not

- who are your friends
- do you feel socially more at ease with German-Canadians
- which German traditions have you kept in your home (food, holidays, friends, cultural activities), why or why not
- have you been back to Germany
- how much contact do you have to your relatives there
- did you ever consider moving back
- did you send your children to German school, why or why not
- would you nowadays
- which language did you speak at home
- what is your opinion about bilingualism
- how important is the family for you
- how much do you rely on relatives
- should parents be respected as authorities by their children
- how do you show emotions in your family
- how important is education for a person
- how much did you sacrifice for your children's education
- what is your attitude towards work
- does it differ from other Canadians
- how important is religion for you